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THE
LONDON QUARTERLY
REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1888.

ART. I.—THE LIFE OF DR. BUNTING.

The Life of Jabez Bunting, D.D., with Notices of Contemporary Persons and Events. By his SON, THOMAS PERCIVAL BUNTING (continued by the Rev. G. STRINGER ROWE). London: T. Woolmer. 1887.

IN the last number of this journal* we endeavoured to furnish a general view of the character and life-work of Jabez Bunting, as related especially to the period when his course began, and to the occasions and conditions under which his powers were developed, and found their proper sphere and application. In the present article, so far as our space will allow, we shall endeavour to exhibit more in detail the variety of experiences through which he passed, the scenery, so to speak, which environed the course of his life, especially in its earlier stages; his social and personal characteristics, and the nature and quality of the work which, in successive stages, he did for his generation.

Deeply as the removal of Wesley from the midst of his people was felt in every place which he had been accustomed to visit, the loss occasioned by his death was felt most at London and Bristol, because there year by year he had spent much more time and had far more personal friends than

* Under the title, *The Greatest Man of Modern Methodism.*

elsewhere. The loss of his presence and personal influence was, in these places, of necessity a very heavy loss of power for Methodism. The controversies, also, which arose in the Connexion after his death aggravated the derangement of affairs, and the loss of central force and unity, which his removal, however long anticipated, could not but produce. Wesley's own closest and most influential friends were found among those persons of superior intelligence and of devoted piety who shared his sympathetic attachment to the Church of England, although in London, where the liturgy was used in the Methodist chapels, they very seldom, indeed, attended its services. Of these friends of Wesley, a large proportion were, at the first, opposed to the Conference legislation as to the Sacraments in the early years which followed Wesley's death. In Bristol a considerable number of them left Methodism altogether, and we find the Rev. Joseph Entwisle, in a letter to Dr. Bunting, from Bristol, dated so long afterwards as 1813, stating that "since the division about the Sacraments few opulent and respectable people have been in our Society." In London the circumstances were different. The Bristol "Old Methodists" objected to the Sacrament being administered by their own preachers in their own meeting-houses. But in London provision had been long made for sacramental administration in the principal chapels by clergymen who were also Methodists; and this provision, itself a part of the "old plan" in London, was continued long enough after Wesley's death to cover the transition period between the "old plan" and the general acceptance throughout the Connexion of the new provisions for administration. Still the antagonism between the men of the "old plan" and the majority who welcomed the new basis of settlement made itself strongly felt in London by means of a side controversy, in which the versatile Dr. Whitehead figured as chief antagonist of the Conference. This gentleman, having forsaken Methodism for the Society of Friends, among whom he remained twenty years, and having afterwards returned to Methodism and resumed the work of preaching as a local preacher, finally completed his circuit of opinion by taking up the tone and attitude of a

strong Churchman, opposed to the ministerial claims of the Methodist itinerant preachers. Unfortunately Wesley, whose medical adviser he was, had, with characteristic over-generosity of confidence, appointed him one of his literary executors, Dr. Coke and Henry Moore being the others. Being thus in a position to give trouble, especially as he was a constant resident in London, while his colleagues in the trust were very rarely there, and as he had leisure while they had none, he made it his unhappy business, for several years, supported by the majority of the trustees of City Road (the "New") Chapel, to create and to keep alive controversy and ill-feeling as to Wesley's MSS., as to Wesley's biography, and as to the control of the chapel and its services.

For nearly ten years after Wesley's death London Methodism was kept in hot water by these controversies. In 1792 the number of members in the London societies was returned as 3,250. In 1800 the number returned was exactly the same. Meantime the number of members in the whole Connexion during the same period had increased from 75,278 to 90,619. When Mr. Bunting, however, was appointed as the "young preacher" at City Road in 1803, unity and good feeling seem to have been re-established in the metropolitan "circuit" of Methodism. His diary (p. 176) records his meeting Dr. Whitehead on friendly terms in 1803 at the house of one of the City Road trustees (Mr. Mortimer) and enjoying his conversation; in the following year, that weak and restless, but pleasant and well-informed, man ended his singular and wavering course. Death and change, indeed, in 1804, seem to have removed from the London Societies all the active elements of discord. Mr. Bunting's diary discloses a condition of harmony and Christian fellowship, not only directly spiritual, but also social, of a very pleasing character. Death and change had still spared some of the choicest Methodists of Wesley's own immediate circle, while with these, since Wesley's death, others like-minded had been brought into union. There was still easily recognizable among the best of the London Methodists, a refinement, a pleasantness, a well-bred graciousness, a general intelligence, as well as a devoutness and spirituality equally habitual and

unostentatious, such as had everywhere, alike in England and in Ireland, been characteristic of Wesley's chosen friends. Mr. Bunting's diary shows the intense satisfaction with which the pupil of Dr. Percival recognized such characteristics as soon as he was introduced to the private intimacy of the most esteemed members of the London "Society"; it is with evident relish and delight that he describes to Miss Maclardie the sort of friends to whom, if she came to live with him in London, she would be introduced.

There was one advantage belonging to the London Methodist circle at that time, which was before long to come to an end. London, as yet, was not quite too large for mutual intercourse, extending over the whole of its area. All the societies were united in one "circuit," although the circuit was inconveniently large. The principal societies were those connected with City Road, which was still called the "New Chapel," Queen Street—which had taken the place of West Street—Lambeth, and Spitalfields, besides which there was a considerable number of minor societies and preaching places, within or near London, and others outside of the Metropolis within a radius of a dozen miles or more. Of the circle of Wesley's friends still remaining there were in the London circuit such families as those of Wolff and Sundius, Bruce, Bakewell,* Bulmer, Marriott, and H. W. Mortimer, who had a year or two before married Miss Ritchie, perhaps the best beloved of all Mr. Wesley's "daughters" in the gospel. There were also, of equal position with these, but not among the number of Wesley's personal friends, the Butterworths, connected by marriage with Dr. Adam Clarke, Mr. Butterworth being the founder of the well-known law publishing house, and for a number of years M.P., first for Coventry and afterwards for Dover; and the Middletons were another intelligent and influential family. The saintly Lady Mary Fitzgerald, who was interred at City Road, where a plain white marble tablet briefly records her worth, and who died in 1815, after fifty years of membership in the Methodist Society, must be reckoned as belonging to this circle. Few of these were Londoners, born and bred. Wesley's labours made

* The author of the fine and well-known hymn, "Hail, Thou once despised Jesus."

comparatively little impression on well-to-do church-going people, or on settled Nonconformists in London. Throughout Wesley's life, indeed, a very small proportion of "Dissenters"—who had been strictly trained, for the most part, in Calvinistic principles—joined his societies. Whitefield was the apostle of "the evangelical revival" for the Dissenting churches. Multitudes of nominal adherents of the Church of England were numbered among his converts in London as elsewhere; but these were rarely found among the well-to-do classes. When, in 1739, Wesley founded his society in the old tumble-down "Foundery," there were in London and Southwark, besides the many scores of parish churches, more than eighty well-established Nonconformist churches,* exclusive of Baptist congregations, and besides other churches in more or less distant suburbs, such as Wandsworth or Chelsea. That is to say, there were at that time in London, with its half a million of people, not far from as many Dissenting congregations as now there are Wesleyan-Methodist stationed ministers, and considerable chapels in the Metropolis, of five times the population, and much more than five times the area. Wesley, accordingly, made less impression, in proportion, on London, than on any of the growing towns or districts of the country, where the ground was but little pre-occupied—much of it, indeed, quite bare and free—and where Methodism, with its fresh evangelistic energy and enterprise, could rise in numbers and influence on the crest of a rising tide of independent working and middle-class population. In London Wesley's ministry, so far as regarded Londoners proper, was pre-eminently a gospel to the poor. He and his preachers found an unlimited field among the lowliest and most destitute, and the beneficent charities of primitive Methodism were among its chief characteristics. This was one of the points, indeed, in which the earliest Methodism, in London especially, was deeply imbued with the spirit of primitive Christianity in Jerusalem.

The circle of Wesley's chief personal friends and supporters accordingly, within London itself, consisted, even at the time of his death, very mainly of those who were either themselves

* See Dr. Stoughton's *History of Religion in England under Queen Anne and the Georges*, vol. i. p. 223.

from the country, or whose fathers, being from the country, had in London been numbered among Wesley's early converts. Two of them, however, the two we placed first in our slight enumeration of London Methodist families, were not English at all. Wesley spent some of the last days of his life at Balham, in the bosom of what he speaks of as a "lovely family," a family to which he was accustomed to retire for rest and to write. This was the family of Mr. George Wolff, one of his executors. Mrs. Wolff brought him home to City Road to die. Mr. Wolff was a native of Denmark, and was the Danish Consul in England. He remained a Methodist to the end of a very prolonged life, and even took part in the splendid Centenary movement of 1839-40. The other was Mr. Christian Sundius, a London merchant, but a Swede by birth, son of a learned and devoted Swedish clergyman, and translator to the Admiralty.* He had served in the Swedish army and in the English navy. He heard Wesley at the Foundry in 1777, and joined "the society," in 1780. Mr. Bunting seems to have been particularly charmed with this gentleman and his family, when in 1803 he "dined about three miles from town, at the country house of Mr. Sundius, between Kingsland and Newington." He describes him as "a very sensible, well-informed man, and one of the first merchants in the City," and adds: "They have some of the most engaging children I ever saw. One little boy, just beginning to talk, is a perfect beauty, and uncommonly interesting in his manners." One of the guests on this occasion was, he writes, "Mr. Steinkopff, a clergyman of the Lutheran establishment, who is lately come to be minister of the German Church in the Savoy.† I have paid few visits since I came to London from which I have derived more social enjoyment, intellectual improvement, and Christian edification."

We have referred to Mr. Mortimer. He was from Staffordshire and was a prosperous gunsmith in Fleet Street. His son, the Rev. Thomas Mortimer, became a well-known and very

* *Wesleyan Magazine*, for January and February, 1853.

† Afterwards widely known as Dr. Steinkopff, one of the first secretaries of the Bible Society.

popular clergyman.* His second wife—Mr. Wesley's Miss Ritchie, to whom we have already referred—was one of the most esteemed and devoted Christian ladies of her time; the friend and correspondent of Lady Mary Fitzgerald and Lady Maxwell, as well as of Mr. Wesley, to whom she was as a daughter. Mr. Mortimer was the most influential of the City Road trustees, and was treasurer of the trust. Mrs. Mortimer's *Life*, one of the most highly valued among the religious biographies of Methodism, was written by Mrs. Bulmer, who was no doubt the most cultivated and accomplished member of the London Methodist circle. She was a poetess of real elevation and of great refinement and eloquence, although the didactic and doctrinal character, as well as the great length, of her chief poem,† are fatal impediments to its circulation.

Mr. Bunting in his diary speaks of Mrs. Bulmer as "not only a very pious, but a very accomplished lady." Mrs. Bulmer was a Londoner, born in Lombard Street in 1775 (she died in 1836). She may be said to have been brought up at the feet of Wesley, being through her mother, who was a superior woman and an intimate friend of Wesley's, a Methodist of the third generation. Mr. Bakewell, to whom we have referred as one of the London circle, was a Derbyshire man. For many years he taught a school at Greenwich with great success. Among his descendants have been remarked not a few scholars and schoolmasters, who have borne the names of Egan or Moulton, among them being the Rev. W. F. Moulton, D.D., the eminent Biblical scholar and exegete, and Mr. J. F. Moulton, the senior wrangler and successful barrister. Mr. Bruce, another of the London Methodist circle, who was for many years a bookseller in City Road, was a native of Montrose. He was the friend of Coke as well as of Wesley, and the host of all the "preachers," who valued highly his library. It is

* His nephew, the Rev. Dr. Mortimer, whose father was also a gunsmith in the City, was the popular head-muster for many years of the City of London School. He was a man of a fine liberal spirit, and retained his attachment to Methodism to the end of his life in 1871.

† Entitled *Messiah's Kingdom*. A volume of her letters, with a sketch of her life was published in 1842, by the Rev. W. M. Bunting.

somewhat remarkable that this intimate friend of Wesley and Coke was also the intimate friend of the famous Calvinist Dr. Hawker, of Plymouth.

Among London Methodists no name has stood higher than that of Marriott; four bearers of which were eminent in three generations which covered more than a century. Of these the most distinguished, perhaps, was William Marriott of the second generation, who was a man esteemed and trusted in the City of London; who paid a fine of £400 to escape the shrievalty of the City, and was a humble, godly, and very benevolent man. His father was a baker; he was a stock-broker, as also was his brother Thomas, and his son of the same name, who died more than twenty years ago, leaving large legacies to the Connexion. Mr. Bunting, in a letter to his mother, mentions "our friend" Mr. Marriott—referring to Mr. William Marriott.

Mr. Allan, the solicitor of Old Jewry, though a young man, was rising to eminence and influence when Mr. Bunting went to London. He refers to him in his diary. In the great struggle for religious liberty during the early years of the century, Mr. Allan was the acute and firm-purposed adviser of the Connexion. His son, Mr. Thomas Robinson Allan, has lately left to the Conference a most valuable theological and ecclesiastical library, collected by him at great cost. The Allans were from Malton, in the North Riding, or its neighbourhood.

One of Wesley's earliest entries in his diary intimates the pleasure which he was to find in the society of London Methodists. He had visited Lambeth—at that time a suburban village in the midst of market gardens, with the river on one side and the "marsh" on another. He says: "I like very much the spirit and manners of the leading members of the Lambeth Society, with whom I had some conversation, before and after the service. I think I shall be quite charmed with the London Methodists when I can become more familiar with them" (p. 148). To the Lambeth Society at that time it may be presumed that Mr. and Mrs. Wolff, of Balham, belonged. This was on a Sunday at the end of August. The next day he fell into temptation at a famous bookshop, belong-

ing to a well-known Methodist. He says: "I rambled for an hour among the booksellers' shops in Paternoster Row, and at Baynes' was overpowered by temptation. I spent all the money I had in my pocket, which fortunately was not much." Mr. Bruce, the bookseller, we have seen, was from Montrose. Baynes, the theological bookseller, was from the North Riding, where, for twenty years, he had been brought up a farmer.

The impression made upon Mr. Bunting by the leading members of the Queen Street Society was yet more favourable than that which he had received at Lambeth. Under date, Wednesday, November 2, having preached at Queen Street Chapel, he writes in his diary:

"After the service, as usual on the first Wednesday of every month, we had a meeting of the leaders for spiritual conversation only. The most judicious speakers were Mr. Middleton, Mr. Francis, Mr. Butterworth, and Mrs. Mortimer. The last named, at my desire, concluded by prayer. She has admirable talents. When I consider the spirit and abilities of many of its leaders, I cease to wonder that the Queen Street Society should so much excel all others in the London Circuit; the Lambeth Society ranks next to it" (p. 185).

The sociability and hospitality of the London Methodist Society of those days was one of its most marked characteristics. On September 16—three weeks after his entering London—he gives his wife an account of his day's preparations and performances. One part of the record is: "Then to Mr. Bruce's in Aldersgate Street,* where I dined and took tea. This is a most agreeable family, and we had much pious, rational, and improving conversation. Then to Mr. Bulmer's in Friday Street. . . . I returned in time to begin the prayer-meeting at City Road" (p. 157). A fortnight later he "dined with Mr. and Mrs. Meredith, of Bishopsgate Street." There would seem to have been a considerable party. He found more pleasure than he had expected. "Miss Meredith," he says, "and Miss Rutherford are musically inclined, and

* This was a different Bruce from the bookseller already referred to; he also was a Scotchman, and scarcely less influential; he had married into one of the original Foundry Methodist families. Some of their descendants are still found attached to Methodism.

entertained Mr. Taylor" (the City Road superintendent minister) "by playing and singing. He desired them to sing a favourite Scotch air in the words of one of our hymns." On Sunday, October 9, he preached at Spitalfields in the morning. He had resolved to return home to City Road to dinner, but was persuaded to go to dinner with Mrs. Hovatt—a clever, generous, sociable woman—under the idea that he might have as much retirement as at home. He found, however, several friends; one of whom, he says, "a very young, but very sermon-loving lady, he was glad to accompany to Eastcheap Chapel, to hear Mr. Clayton"—the famous Dissenting minister, of whom he speaks as very superior to the ordinary "popular preacher." "Mr. Clayton," he says, "is popular indeed, but not among the populace" (p. 170). Three days later, on October 12, having begun his day's work by preaching at City Road, at five o'clock, to a small handful of people, he writes in his diary:

"We dined to-day with Mr. and Mrs. Hovatt, Mr. Story, and Mr. Whitfield" (these two Wesleyan ministers) "at Mr. Rankin's*—a very pleasant party. As I had been closely employed from half-past four till half-past one, my mind was fagged, and disposed to be melancholy; but Mrs. Hovatt's lively conversation entertained me in spite of myself. I have not laughed so much since I came to London. However, I think it was not unseasonable nor injurious. Mr. Taylor sang for us some delightful Scotch tunes; and, after prayer, we parted as merry as Christians wish to be."

By *we* in this entry is meant Mr. and Mrs. Taylor, with whom he lived at City Road, and himself. He closed the day with evening preaching at Snowfields, in "the Borough," where he had Mr. Winkworth, the rector of the parish, to hear him (p. 175). On the Friday following he dined at Mr. Mortimer's—

"in every respect," he says, "a most agreeable visit. Mrs. Mortimer talked less than I wished. Dr. Whitehead, who was one of our party, was at first very silent, but, after a little *broaching*, entertained and instructed us. I left the meeting for an hour, which I spent with Mr. Butterworth, on the business of the memorial on this Jamaica persecution, and then returned to tea. I had a long, wet, disagreeable walk

* The Rev. Thos. Rankin, one of the organizers of American Methodism.

to Wapping, where it was my turn to conduct the national prayer-meeting."

On his way homewards the diligent young preacher called at St. Antholin's Church, Watling Street, to hear a famous clergyman (the Rev. H. Foster). On the 27th of the same month he dined with Mr. Sundius at his country house, as already described.

These instances all occurring within scarcely more than two months after his arrival in London will suffice to show what was the temper of the friends among whom he found so cordial a welcome. When, in the beginning of 1804, he was married to Miss Maclardie, and carried his bride with him to his lodgings with Mr. and Mrs. Taylor, at City Road, he and she were received with open arms by the "Society," and experienced similar hospitality. Writing to his friend, the Rev. George Marsden, shortly afterwards, he says: "We have spent a month since our arrival at Mr. Middleton's, and are now paying a similar visit to Mr. Butterworth" (p. 198).

If the London Societies were distinguished for intelligence, sociability, and hospitality, they were also, as we have seen, and no less, distinguished among the churches of Methodism at the beginning of the century for their spirituality, nor were they less eminent for their generous charities. On occasion of the first week-night service that Mr. Bunting conducted at Queen Street he says in his diary:

"In such a leaders' meeting I never presided before. But Methodism here is, like everything else, conducted on a large scale. They exceed all other societies I ever knew in the liberal provision they make for their poor" (p. 149).

Nevertheless, Methodism in London at this time was very much less numerous in proportion to the extent and population of the metropolitan "circuit" than the Methodism of any other considerable circuit similarly estimated. While in London there were 3,600 members, the Manchester circuit returned 2,703 and the Liverpool circuit 2,300, the respective populations in each case being but a small fraction of the population of the metropolitan area; and while the country circuits were steadily, often rapidly, increasing, the increase in London was very small—indeed during the years 1803 and 1804 the

number of members rather diminished than increased. The work was much too great, and the area too vast, for the labourers employed; London at that time, as for sixty years afterwards, was too immense a problem, and too heavy a burden, for the comparatively small resources of metropolitan Methodism to grapple with. And the ministers stationed in London, already overtaxed with its requirements, were also expected to take counsel for the country ministers who might appeal to them. "This morning," writes Mr. Bunting on his first Saturday in London, "I attended the meeting of all the London preachers, which is held at City Road every Saturday, to fix the plans of the ensuing week, to transact the incidental business of our own circuit, and *to give advice to any preachers from the country who choose to apply for it.*"

The necessary business, indeed, of the London ministers included much more than the care of the London Societies. The management of the Book-room, of which one of the London ministers was "steward," and another, at this time Joseph Benson, was editor, and which was in a position for many years together of deep embarrassment and confusion, owing to the pecuniary obligations which had devolved upon it, and to the lack of effective management, was a permanent cause of painful anxiety; the Committee of Privileges, at this time the one mixed committee of Methodism, was kept continually at work, by reason, at one time, of fearful cruelties inflicted on Methodist soldiers at Gibraltar; at another, of shocking persecutions of Methodists in the West Indian slave colonies; and again of questions of legal right and evangelical liberty at home, being guided at this time chiefly by Mr. Butterworth and Mr. Allan; the pecuniary necessities also of the missions at home and abroad, which were under Dr. Coke's superintendence, but for which even his generosity and power of winning contributory help to supplement his own bounty was not always able to make the needful provision, were among the burdens of which the chief responsibility rested on the ministers stationed in London. The effect of all the causes combined was that Methodism in London, notwithstanding its charms and merits, offered a problem for solution the difficulties of which no one could find a way to overcome. Writing

to Mr. Marsden, Mr. Bunting gave his own ideas on the subject :

"I think we should do much better, by the blessing of God, if two things could be accomplished : 1. An increase of the number of travelling preachers from six to nine, or, at least, to eight.* Without this, some important places, both in town and country, such as Snowsfields, Lambeth, Grosvenor Market, Chelsea, Woolwich, Twickenham, and Brentford, will never have a fair trial. It is probable that at the next Conference this will be done. 2. A division of the circuit into two or three branches ; e.g., London, Westminster, and Southwark. In order to meet the prejudices of some respectable friends against this measure (which is, in the opinion of Mr. Taylor and myself, as well as of Mr. Benson and the other preachers who talked of it last year, absolutely essential to the due administration of discipline), the Sunday plan might still be general for all the town chapels, and the pecuniary concerns of the Societies might all remain under the management of one steward, and one quarterly meeting. But the superintendency, which is a mere name at present, should be divided between two or three persons, and there should be a separate week-day plan for the preachers appointed to each distinct branch of the circuit. Till something of this kind be adopted, there can be none of that ministerial *pastorship* and *oversight* of the flock, which the New Testament enjoins as universally necessary " (p. 194).

Mr. Bunting's ideas were not immediately carried out ; after two years, indeed, the number of ministers was increased to eight, and the circuit was divided into two—not into three till several years more had passed away. But the division between the two circuits was made at once complete ; no doubt this was better than such a compromise as is indicated in the above extract, as it was also probably more in harmony with Mr. Bunting's own views. The burden, however, on the ministers stationed in London did not become lighter as the years passed on. In 1803, when he was yet unmarried, and in his twenty-fifth year, the following entries are found in his diary at the end of the year. On Christmas Eve he writes : " All next week my places are to be supplied that I may attend to the affairs of the Missions and of the Book Committee." On the 28th of December he says : " I am quite tired of the cares of business, and should be glad instantly to return to my accustomed duties. I find so bustling a life, spent in such employ-

* The number of members of the Society in London, as returned at the Conference of 1803, was three thousand six hundred and eighty.

ments, not very favourable to my spiritual interests." Ten years later, in 1815, when he was himself stationed in Leeds, he writes to Mr. Marsden: "The London preachers have more on their hands than they can possibly do, and consequently nothing is done quite as well as it should be" (p. 443). Two years afterwards he was again resident in London, in the course of his second ministry there, and his biographer thus describes his life:

"It was common, in those times, to hasten, dinnerless, from a long Committee meeting into pulpits which men like my father felt they must fill, even on week-nights, so as to sustain the impression produced by their Sunday exercises. Close upon these services, or mingled with them, followed the Leaders' Meeting, or the visitation of classes. I well remember how the tired slave of the public returned to his home after all these engagements, too weary to have any desire for the refreshment he needed, and, with hardly a taste of domestic pleasure, though unable to avoid domestic cares, was soon compelled to forget them both, and to sit up half the night in preparations for the morrow" (p. 491).*

Nor was the pressure upon the ministers in London materially relieved until by the rapid and remarkable increase and growth of Methodism in London, which followed the establishment in 1861-2 of the Metropolitan Chapel Building Fund, the number of ministers was so largely increased, and the circuit organizations so greatly augmented, as to allow of a due distribution of Connexional work and responsibility among the ministers stationed in the metropolitan area, leaving, at the same time, a considerable number of junior ministers with little or nothing of Connexional work to distract them from their pastoral duties. Although, as far as possible, provincial centres are selected for the location of Connexional institutions and departments, London cannot but be, and tends increasingly

* On pp. 252-3 there is an extract from a letter addressed to Mr. Bunting, in which modern Methodists will find a striking parallelism to present metropolitan conditions. We quote a part of the extract:—

"All that appears practicable, at present, is to open rooms, in eligible parts of the town, for prayer and preaching, as circumstances may offer. On this plan, Golden Lane, Friars Mount, and Drury Lane Schools are opened for preaching, at six o'clock on the Lord's-day evening. At the same time, a large warehouse in Lombard Street, Fleet Street, fitted up by Mr. Butterworth, was opened, as a preaching room, by Mr. Clarke, last Lord's-day. Several other rooms have been opened for the same purpose."

to become, the chief centre of Connexional business, and the convenient meeting place for special gatherings relating to nearly all the departments; the administration of chapel affairs, which for sixty years has been fixed at Manchester, being the most conspicuous exception.

To return, however, to Mr. Bunting and his first appointment in London. His son thus briefly sums up his second year's work, at the close of which he removed to Manchester:

"My father's first residence in London terminated in August 1805. He had preached two hundred and sixty-nine times during the second year of his appointment. With the exception of the period of his visit to Lancashire, upon the occasion of Dr. Percival's decease, he was absent from his Circuit for one Sunday only; nor did he leave for the Conference until after the first Sunday in August. During the year he became increasingly engaged in the labours and responsibilities attending the public business of the Connexion. He took a lively interest in the Society for the Suppression of the Slave Trade. A club for the purchase and circulation of periodicals and pamphlets, of which he was the founder, familiarized him with the lighter literature of the time. So frequently as his avocations would permit, he attended at the House of Commons, in the days when Pitt and Fox flourished. He was an occasional visitor, also, at the meetings of the Eclectic Society, which were held in the vestry of St. John's, Bedford Row; and of which John Newton, Cecil, Daniel Wilson, Pratt, Henry Foster, Samuel Crowther, Basil Woodd, Simeon, Abdy, Venn, and Goode (the father of the learned controversialist of that name), together with the elder Clayton and John Goode, of the Dissenters, were members. I am not sure whether it was here, or through some other channel, that he became acquainted with Henry Martyn. Of his happy and instructive association with the fathers and founders of the London Missionary Society, he always spoke in the most grateful terms. Indeed, he seems to have regarded his temporary sojourn in the Metropolis, not only as affording him large and various opportunities of usefulness, but as a means of training his powers for the subsequent service of Methodism in the provinces" (pp. 236-7).

Mr. Bunting's residence in London during these two years was for him pre-eminently a period of training. He completed the basis of his education for his life-work as a public teacher and administrator. He obtained a complete insight into the principles and spirit, the history and organization, of Methodism. He also matured his taste and ideas as to preaching. He heard all the best preachers in London, whether in the Church of England or among the Dissenters; and when great

preachers like Mr. Jay visited London, he made it his business to hear them as often as possible. Jay and Clayton he seems to have admired more than any other masters of the pulpit; Cecil he greatly admired, but found him, however wisely sententious, somewhat wanting in evangelical force and elevation. When he left London his reputation as a preacher was established. Among Evangelical Dissenters he was especially popular; few drew larger congregations on special occasions than the young Methodist preacher of City Road. The testimony of such competent witnesses, outside his own body, as the late Dr. Leifchild, Dr. Halley, and Dr. Burder, warrants the conclusion that, when he left London, he left behind him very few, if any, better preachers than himself, and none so rich in promise. He was but twenty-six years of age.

Before we pass away from the view of Mr. Bunting in this formative and fundamental period of his life's course, it is proper that we should notice the stand he took on a point of ecclesiastical principle. It had been the custom at the Local Preachers' Quarterly Meeting at City Road to deal alike with the itinerant ministers and the lay (or local) brethren in inquiring individually into the character, orthodoxy, and general ability of each in succession. This custom was a not unnatural remainder from the time when, in the presence of Wesley, at City Road, all the preachers on the plan, whether itinerant or local, were alike no more, at least technically, than lay preachers. It was, however, out of harmony with the new conditions involved in the recognition, since 1795, of the itinerant preachers as in the fullest sense ministers of the church and pastors of the flock. At the first quarterly meeting after Mr. Bunting's admission by his brethren into "full connexion" with them at the Conference of 1804, he rose and protested when his name was mentioned. "When I am tried," he said "I will be tried by my peers." This put a stop to the practice in question. Probably in the country circuits of the connexion the practice never widely prevailed. Local preachers' meetings were not organized and developed elsewhere on the same scale as in London. Nor were such men as Dr. Hamilton and Dr. Whitehead elsewhere found among the number of local preachers.

From London Mr. Bunting removed to his native town of Manchester. He returned to it, with some natural reluctance, after an absence of six short years, but he was already regarded by those who knew him best, and, among these, by some of the foremost laymen in London, "as the future leader of his own church, and as its ablest representative to other churches and the general public."

The first notable episode in the history of this appointment to Manchester was the affair of Mr. Broadhurst and the "Band-Room Methodists" of which we have already written in the pages of this Review.* The main principle at issue was whether it was "expedient, or even right, that there should be indiscriminate admission to a meeting held for the relation of Christian experience. The ministers of the circuit, supported by a very large majority of the leaders, decided this question in the negative." The dissentients, maintaining the affirmative, left the Connexion, and formed a community, small and short-lived, of their own.

At the ensuing Conference (1806) Mr. Bunting was elected assistant-secretary. "The published minutes of the year passed under his revision; the first of a series of tasks of the same kind which he performed, with more or less of official responsibility," for more than forty years. "Every word and figure," says his son, "was scrupulously examined. He knew what heart-burnings the simple misprint of a name might cause. Dr. Coke" [the Secretary] "writes to him on the 31st of August, 'Many thanks for your perfectly exact Journals.'"

One part of the secret of Mr. Bunting's great and growing influence among his brethren, at so early an age, was that, in addition to his great ability, his extensive information, his high character, and the ease and finish of his manners, he was eminently sociable, and took pains to become and to remain personally familiar with as many as possible of his brethren. In the later years of his ministry, unfortunately for himself and for the Connexion, the vast increase in the number of ministers, added to his own absolute absorption in high official

* See the number for October 1886 (*The Origin of the Primitive Methodist Connexion*).

duties, and to the growing infirmities of a somewhat premature old age, made it impossible for him to maintain, in anything like the same proportion, personal relations with his brethren, although to the last he delighted in nothing so much as free brotherly intercourse with them and was always delightfully easy and affable in their society. While in Manchester at this time he began a practice which he continued afterwards elsewhere, namely, that of organizing free social gatherings of his brethren drawn from a very considerable area. His son describes these gatherings as periodical meetings between himself and those ministers in his immediate neighbourhood in whose affections and judgment he felt special confidence. One such meeting was held, for example, at Rochdale, on April 8, 1807, and included ministers from Manchester, Rochdale, Halifax, Bury, Blackburn, Stockport, Macclesfield, and Newcastle-under-Lyme, a wide circle to gather from in those days of slow and difficult travelling. It may be presumed that most of the ministers present came the night before and left the morning after the day of meeting. In the evening Mr. Bunting preached before his assembled brethren.

"My father's first ministry in Manchester," says his son, "closed with the Conference of 1807. The published minutes of that assembly contain evidences of his anxiety to introduce, gradually, some changes in the administration of the affairs of the Connexion, and to make the system more regular and intelligible. Among the changes, originating, I believe, chiefly with him, are rules providing that no person not competent to the regular ministry should be employed in any mission, at home or abroad; insisting on the immediate emancipation of slaves belonging to any minister in the West Indies, or to his wife; recognizing still more clearly the distinction between preachers formerly set apart to the ministry and those still upon probation; requiring the attendance of all probationers at Conference, for personal examination; regulating the jurisdiction of the Conference, considered as an Appellate Court, rather than a Court of first instance; and providing for the due order of the proceedings of that body. Some financial arrangements also, evidently, received his revision. This year, too, a prerogative was recognized as belonging to the President, which hitherto had been exercised as matter of necessity and usage; he was authorized to supply, from the list of probationers approved by the Conference for that purpose, all vacancies in circuits or missions, which might occur during the period of his office" (pp. 271-2).

Attractive and impressive as his preaching was, it hardly

seems at this time to have been the most powerful element in his usefulness. As a pastor, as a firm but judicious disciplinarian, as an organizer, and by his personal influence, especially over the rising young men of leading intelligence and character, he appears to have been yet more useful than by his preaching. He stamped his principles and more or less of his character on the choicest spirits of his native town. "In their lives of active and consistent goodness he multiplied himself; and in not a few of their children," says the biographer, "whether by natural or spiritual descent, he still survives."*

On his return some years later to his native town, we shall find that his ministry took a bolder and more authoritative tone than, only a few years after leaving it to enter on his ministerial probation, he could easily or naturally make his own. Then his whole personal individuality rose to its highest and strongest development, and the pulpit reasoner and orator not only instructed and argued with commanding ability, but thundered and lightened with overwhelming power.

It was at this time a rule with Mr. Bunting never to remain more than two years in a circuit. Whenever he changed his circuit, from the time even of his probation, but increasingly as the years went on, there was a large number of competing "petitions" to the Conference for his appointment to different circuits. In 1807 the decision was that he should exchange Manchester for Sheffield, a decision very agreeable to himself. In Sheffield he set on foot a ministers' meeting from the neighbouring circuits such as he had organized at Manchester, in which neighbourhood, after he left, the meetings were still, at least for a while, kept up. It was at Sheffield that his convictions in regard to the need of systematic training for the work of the ministry were finally fixed and settled. From this time his mind was made up as to the necessity, for much the larger proportion of candidates for the ministry, of such instruction and training as, a quarter of a century later, the Conference took steps to provide, as we explained three months ago.

At this time in Sheffield, as in many other places, it was the custom to teach writing in the Sunday schools. Mr. Bunting

* This was written in 1859.

took decided ground in opposition to this practice, in which position, after a while, the Conference as a whole, and eventually the whole Connexion, sustained him, and the practice was put down. Not only the Methodists, but almost all Christian churches, came to agree in condemning it, although at the present time, as we learn, the old practice is being revived in some large centres of population. In connection with this subject Mr. Bunting led the way in maintaining that Sunday schools, as such, ought, on every account, to be regarded as religious organizations, and, as thus regarded, ought, like all other spiritual agencies, to be placed under the direct government of the Church and its ministers. These principles have long ago been recognized as constitutionally essential in *Wesleyan Methodism*, but it is to Mr. Bunting's fidelity and ability, sustained as it was in after years by the eminent authority and ability of Richard Watson, that the final settlement of the question was mainly due. Nor was it finally settled till after twenty years of argument.

It was during his residence in Sheffield that Mr. Bunting took his first preaching tour—a journey which marks the high level of Connexional popularity which had been attained by this young preacher, who was totally destitute of all the qualities which belong to vulgar popularity, and owed nothing whatever of public favour to any artifice or adventitious aid. In the autumn of 1809 he went to Durham to open a chapel, and during his visit preached at Sunderland, North and South Shields, and Newcastle-on-Tyne, preaching also at York on his return journey. This preaching tour gained him many influential friends among the northern laity of Methodism.

The following extract from the memoir, relating to this period, is instructive :—

“Although more than ten years had elapsed since the sacramental controversy was settled in England, it appears that it still raged elsewhere.

“‘Fifteen years since,’ writes Mr. Reece, ‘the Conference granted the Sacrament to the Channel Islands. It has been administered in Guernsey ever since that time; but Dr. Coke, having made a promise to the late Dean that it should not be administered in Jersey, has opposed it whenever the people have repeated their request. An Independent Church has lately been formed there, and the ordinance is administered to it; which has much alarmed the French preachers. They fear that, if they do not

stand on equal ground, our cause will be ruined. Should not the Doctor's opposition be over-ruled, and the general decision of the Conference be acted upon in this particular case ?'

"My father's reply to this question was immediate:—

"'Dr. Coke's unwarrantable promise to the Dean of Jersey ought not, in my judgment, to deprive our Societies in that island any longer of their Christian and Methodistic privileges. I hope you will come forward, if necessary, at the next Conference, as their advocate. There is no doubt that the decision of our brethren will be in their favour'" (p. 300).

Dr. Coke had been Wesley's companion—a sort of coadjutor bishop. He had exercised episcopal functions in the organization of American Methodism. He was almost omnipotent still in the Irish sectional Conference; and he was the permanent Secretary of the Conference—at least he was always re-elected. But his assistant-secretary was prepared to back Mr. Reece against Dr. Coke, where the Christian rights of the Societies were in question. It is a point also to be noted in this case, that the refusal to recognize the separate claims and rights of Methodists to a church status of their own operated directly to the increase and advantage of Congregational Dissent.

During the last five-and-twenty years in Wesleyan Methodism the idea of Provincial Conferences has been frequently the subject of private conversation and discussion, and has sometimes been mooted in public. This biography shows that it is a very ancient idea. It was discussed in the Sheffield District Meeting in 1809, in consequence of a Minute of the preceding Conference which directed the May District Meetings to give their serious consideration to the question of what might be done to prevent too large a number of preachers from attending Conference—the number attending Conference in those days being about one-third of the number attending Conference at the present time. Mr. Bunting was the leading spirit in the Sheffield District Meeting, and gives an account of what was done in that meeting in relation to the subject. The meeting held that some change of system would in a few years be unavoidable; and that then, perhaps, it would be best to have provincial Conferences, each comprising several Districts, with a general Conference for legislation and appeals to be held once in two or three years. Till such a change could be brought about, the opinion pre-

vailed that the existing usages should be continued, with no limitation as to the office or standing in the ministry of those allowed to attend Conference. The following Conference (1809) passed some necessary regulations as to the conditions under which ministers should be allowed to attend Conference, regulations which are still in operation, but did not attempt to make any distinction between one class of ministers and another. The same question which then exercised the minds of both ministers and people is now, in a much more pressing form, forcing itself upon the attention of the Connexion, and the expedient of provincial Conferences is again sometimes talked about. Dr. Bunting, however, in the maturity of his knowledge and experience, never fell back upon the idea which had attracted his attention in his youth. The case of British Methodism differs from that of Transatlantic Methodism as widely as the extent and the social and political conditions of England differ from those of the United States. Moreover, and this is the central and essential point of distinction between the two cases, the settlement of the chapels, the legal character of the Deed of Declaration, the disciplinary and legislative powers on which the constitutional form and fabric—and indeed the very existence—of British Methodism, depend, all centre in the “yearly Conference of the people called Methodists.” The annual meeting of that Conference is essential to its rights and to its very being. By what complicated system and series of legislative measures the present legal conditions of Wesleyan Methodism might be so revolutionized as to effect the creation of a General Conference meeting every two or three years, with different functions from those of the present Yearly Conference, and of Provincial Conferences meeting annually, to which many of the rights of the existing Conference should be transferred, while the whole mechanism would be united and bound together on altogether new principles, and in doing all this to secure the consent of the existing trusts of the Connexion to what would be a violation of existing deeds and covenants, is a problem of inconceivable difficulty. No one who has come into distinct view of all involved in it is, we think, likely to regard it as a practical question. All that now is is matter of public law. Such a revolution as we have been speaking of

could only be effected, if at all, by voluminous legislation, in connection with the actual conciliation of existing interests. That something ought to be done—and that, before long, for merely physical reasons, if there were no other, something must be done—to assign reasonable limits to the number of ministers attending the pastoral session of the Conference, is scarcely to be disputed. But how such a limitation is to be effected is a question that bristles with difficulties, and as to which we are not disposed to hazard any opinion.

During Mr. Bunting's first year at Sheffield he was associated as colleague with Robert Newton, afterwards so widely known as Dr. Newton, and for many years doubtless the most popular preacher in England. In a letter of reminiscences addressed by Mrs. Newton to the biographer, an amusing incident is related, which pleasantly illustrates the social conditions under which Methodist preachers and their wives subsisted, in what may perhaps be described as the best circles of Methodism eighty years ago. Mr. and Mrs. Bunting were staying at the house of Mr. Holy, a Sheffield magnate, but also a Methodist, until their own house should be ready for them.

"Soon after their arrival," says Mrs. Newton, "I made my first call, and with more interest than I usually felt on such occasions. Shall I tell you of our first introduction—so perfectly characteristic of your dear mother? Mr. Bunting had his foot on a chair; and she was stitching a loop that had failed in his black silk stocking, on his then remarkably finely-formed leg—much admired in those days, when trousers were worn only by seamen. The footman announced my name; and Mrs. B. desisted from her work for a few moments, and we shook hands. Then, with one of the looks peculiar to her, half droll, half serious, she said to me, 'Do you mend your husband's stockings?' Of course, I answered in the affirmative. 'O well, then,' she said, 'I will finish my job;' and in a few minutes Mr. Bunting and she were conversing with me rather as old friends than as those so newly introduced to my acquaintance" (pp. 310-11).

Mrs. Newton in the same paper describes the Sheffield Society in a way which shows that, for hospitality, it might vie with the London Methodists, if it did not exceed them—a characteristic, we may note in passing, which to the present time has continued to distinguish the Methodists of Sheffield.

It also shows in what spirit the two popular young ministers, both of the same ministerial standing, maintained their fellowship with each other.

"The Society in Sheffield was very, very hospitable; and invitations for dinner, tea, and supper were so general, that we agreed to decline all visits on the Sabbath, and engaged to spend the evenings of that day alternately at each other's houses. This arrangement continued, and, I think, without any interruption, during the year we spent together in Sheffield. Our dear husbands enjoyed the relaxation of cheerful converse, and of mutual Christian feelings, sometimes mixed with the little marvels of our children's prowess during the week; and the social meal, after their Sabbath toils—for they had usually had long walks or rides, preached three times, and attended to their other duties as Methodist ministers. Our frequent meetings at each other's houses, and at the tables of our kind friends in Sheffield, did not allow many days to pass without our spending some hours together; and your mother and myself seldom walked out on business or on pleasure alone; when on pleasure, often accompanied by our nurses and children, who kept within our view, and were an ever-pleasing topic of conversation" (pp. 311-12).

In view of his leaving Sheffield Mr. Bunting was, as usual, deluged with invitations to different fields of labour; but in accordance with his own preference, the Conference appointed him to Liverpool. In those days ministers did not accept invitations, but petitions were sent to the Conference.

He had now attained so commanding and influential a position in the Connexion, that his correspondence had become burdensome. It went on increasing for many years, and till he retired from the foremost place in the Connexion, because of his increasing infirmities, it continued to be oppressively great. The extracts from this correspondence, given in the biography, are, in comparison, few and brief. We confess we could have wished that, the Life itself being somewhat abridged, there might have been a full appendix of letters or extracts, selected from his sixty years' correspondence. Such an appendix would have been invaluable to the student of Methodist history. We quote from the biographer a description of the correspondence as he found it at this comparatively early period of his father's ministry, when Mr. Bunting was but thirty years of age, and two years before his first presidency of the Conference. We cannot ourselves find space for any of the letters or extracts

of letters of this period given in the biography, interesting and historically important as most of them are.

"It refers to almost every conceivable subject. The spiritual and financial state of the Connexion; tidings from former circuits; news of events of national concern; applications for assistance on charitable occasions; speculations in theology; offers to explain the book of the Revelation; strictures on sermons, on the pulpit manner of the preacher, and on the dress and demeanour of himself and his wife, infants, and domestics; suggestions as to the pointed application of discourses to persons who were to be brought to hear them; challenges to public discussion by all kinds of petty sectaries, backed by all kinds of threats, entreaties, and enticements; communications from young preachers, inviting notice, and asking advice as to the conduct of their studies; conjectures, expectations, and sometimes expressions of anxious desire as to the future stations of ministers; stories of small feuds between great men, forgotten by the parties themselves before the ink was dry; inquiries as to the price of timber at the port, cheap chapels being in requisition; endeavours to ascertain the character and circumstances of the writers of begging letters for the guidance of cautious givers at a distance; *strictly private* inquiries as to the eligibility of young ladies for the itinerancy; projects of all sorts of institutions, literary, benevolent, and religious; solicitations of patronage from authors, as yet unsuccessful, and from very enterprising publishers; announcements of births, marriages, and deaths, of persons known and unknown, of all ages, and in all quarters of the globe—each requiring a suitable and an immediate reply of congratulation or of condolence;—this is a very imperfect index to the letters which lie before the biographer. Some have spoken to me, since I began to write these volumes, as if the examination of his papers, accumulated during sixty years, must necessarily have revealed to me secrets which not prudence merely, but the honour of religion and of Methodism, would require me to preserve inviolate. It is right that I should state, in one explicit sentence, that very few secrets have been discovered; and, with the exception of cases of evil which, sooner or later, have become notorious, scarcely one of which even an uncandid reader could take mischievous advantage. Certainly, the correspondence might be published without any imputation upon the purity and disinterestedness of the very large number of persons sustaining a Christian reputation with whom my father had to deal" (pp. 318-20).

In the chapter from which we have quoted, in connection with correspondence relating to the powers of trustees, are some observations on the place of trustees in the economy of Wesleyan Methodism, which are very instructive and valuable (pp. 339-342). The same chapter also explains the nature

and causes of the agitation against Lord Sidmouth's Bill for interfering, by way of justices' authority and public licence, with the freedom of religious teaching and preaching. This attempt to apply to England principles which were and still are all but universally enforced on the Continent—with the doubtful exception, at the present moment, of France—excited the determined opposition of all sects of Nonconformists. The question was not one of political rights, but of the liberty of evangelical testimony and of voluntary public worship. In such a contention as this it was natural that the Methodists, who were more deeply and widely threatened than any other denomination, should lead the Nonconformist opposition. Mr. Bunting was the most powerful among the ministerial antagonists of the proposed measure. Dr. Clarke, strangely enough, was, at least at first, disposed to be neutral in the controversy, if not friendly to the Bill. Richard Watson, at that time a minister in the New Connexion, and Jabez Bunting were, as is related in Thomas Jackson's *Life of Watson*, brought to knowledge of each other and to united action by the common danger at this crisis. But the parliamentary action of the Connexion was formally led by the Wesleyan Methodist Committee of Privileges, of which Mr. Butterworth and Mr. Allan, the solicitor of Old Jewry, were the chief lay counsellors and leaders. The result, as is well known, was the withdrawal of the Bill. The history of this memorable struggle and victory, which vindicated freedom of religious movement and enterprise for Englishmen, is well given by Dr. Smith in his *History of Methodism* (vol. ii.). But additional interesting details are contained in the biography we are reviewing. Mr. Bunting drew up a masterly series of resolutions at the request of the Liverpool District Meeting, which were adopted by that body. While in the main agreeing, they differed in some points from those adopted by the Connexional Committee of Privileges. They are very exact in their definitions and distinctions. The measure is opposed on behalf of "the *regular itinerant ministers* of our Connexion, who, though not *permanently* appointed to *separate* congregations, are yet wholly devoted to the Christian ministry," and also on behalf of "the numerous body of our *occasional preachers and exhorters*, who not only form a very

useful part of our Society, but whose services are essentially necessary, as local auxiliaries to the regular itinerant ministers, in order to supply the various chapels and meeting-houses, in which our congregations assemble for divine worship." "It is curious to observe also," writes his son, "how he declines to commit himself to the assertion of the Committee, that 'a large proportion of our Societies' considered themselves members of the Established Church." In some other particulars these resolutions of his drawing were both more precise and more guarded than those adopted by the Connexional Committee in London (pp. 346-47).

We must pass over the account given by his biographer of the controversy in connection with the new Brunswick Chapel, in Liverpool, as to the use of an organ in the worship and the introduction of the liturgy. Mr. Bunting regarded the organ as the best and fittest instrumental aid to the singing of God's praise in the public sanctuary, and his experience in London had confirmed him in the conviction that a liturgy used once on the Lord's-day, in the morning service, and not to the exclusion, even in the one service, of free prayer, was not only in accordance with the views and devotional taste of John Wesley, but was in itself, and prejudice apart, the best arrangement for united spiritual worship in large and principal congregations. Doubtless in taking this position Mr. Bunting was running counter, as was shown in our former article, to a powerful element in the Connexion. But he did not contend for a general law; he was but sustaining and defending the claims made by one important section of the Liverpool Society, that a concession should be made to their views and feelings in one chapel in the town. In this course Mr. Bunting was acting in the interest of true liberality, and helping to save his Church from being bound down by narrow prejudices, which the light of the future must have condemned. Both the organ and the liturgy were introduced into the Brunswick Chapel; into another chapel also in the same town, Pitt Street Chapel, an organ was introduced. In Liverpool these liberal steps of progress were accomplished without creating any division in the Societies. The case was much otherwise in Leeds seventeen years later.

Mr. Bunting left Liverpool after the Conference of 1811, at which, besides consenting to the erection of the organs at Liverpool, after—it sounds strange to say this—a long and earnest discussion, the Conference, guided and influenced very much by Mr. Bunting's patient and judicious exertions, gave its sanction to the acquisition of a second school for the education of ministers' sons. This was the Woodhouse Grove School, near Leeds, which was continued until a few years ago, when the two schools were united and concentrated at New Kingswood School, on Lansdown Hill, near Bath. The Woodhouse Grove School was placed under the management of a mixed committee, consisting equally of ministers and laymen, an arrangement which, some years later, was adopted also in the case of the earlier and original school, founded by Wesley at (Old) Kingswood, near Bristol. Mr. Bunting's mind had been long made up as to the justice and necessity of placing the various departmental institutions of the Connexion under the management of mixed committees; but there had been strong and settled prejudices to surmount. The Missionary department was not yet organized on this principle. Indeed, it was hardly organized as yet at all; but as far as it was under management, the management, whether disciplinary or financial, was carried on by a ministerial committee, Dr. Coke being the general superintendent. The Committee of Privileges alone had been a mixed committee. This, however, was not a committee of administration, nor was it sustained by a regular fund; it was a committee of advice on questions of right and privilege affecting the denomination.

There were two subjects of national concern and importance, which occupied much of Mr. Bunting's attention during his residence at Halifax (1811-1813), to which circuit he was appointed as superintendent minister and chairman of the District on leaving Liverpool. One of these was the new Toleration Act, by which the Five Mile and Conventicle Acts were repealed, although the new law was by no means frankly liberal, but still unduly cautious. The movement for this reform, in which as assistant—and really the acting—secretary of the Conference, Mr. Bunting took the leading part, which, beyond any other minister, he was best fitted to take, was

the natural sequel to the excitement which had been stirred up among Nonconformists a year or two before by Lord Sidmouth's Bill. The other subject was that of the Luddite outbreaks and riots of which we spoke in our former article.

In connection with the former of these subjects an interesting anecdote is related. Perceval was Prime Minister, and on the 9th of May (1812) received a deputation on the subject of the Bill which had been prepared by the Committee of Privileges—for that body took the lead among Nonconformists in that movement as in the agitation two years before. A few hours later, Mr. Bunting entered the House of Commons, "just in time to see Perceval's dead body removed into an adjoining room, and his assassin taken into custody; while Wilberforce, rushing out of the House, and seizing" Mr. Bunting "by both hands, exclaimed, 'Of all the public men whom I have ever known, this was the one most ready for such an end.'" Besides the light which it throws on the character of the two distinguished statesmen, this anecdote shows the terms on which Mr. Bunting was already with Mr. Wilberforce. In the course of the Anti-Slavery struggle they were to be brought into very close and frequent companionship.

While resident in Halifax, Mr. Bunting edited *Cowper's Memoir of His Own Early Life*, never before published, prefixing to it a Preface of fifteen or sixteen pages. A little earlier he had undertaken to edit a new edition of *Cruden's Concordance*, and to write a prefatory *Life of Cruden*. This was a laborious work, and was not completed till 1815. He also, in 1812, preached before the Conference his famous sermon on *Justification by Faith*—one of a series of theological discourses which were being delivered by some of the most eminent among the ministers at successive Conferences. At this time he bade fair to become an author of note and influence as well as a great preacher and administrator. But the burden of Missionary organization, which came upon him a year later, effectually precluded his continuance in any line of literary work. It was while at Halifax that Mr. Bunting took a step which showed how deeply the cause of missions to the heathen had taken hold of his heart. Notwithstanding the position of

extraordinary eminence he had gained at home, he offered to accompany Dr. Coke to India that he might take charge of the mission which that fervid evangelist had determined to establish there.

By the Conference of 1813 Bunting was removed from Halifax to Leeds. The following is his biographer's closing paragraph in reference to this Conference :

"Fourteen resolutions, the authorship of which cannot be mistaken embodied a sweeping plan of reform, and were adopted by the Conference. The connection, however, between the temporal and spiritual economies of a Church was not forgotten, and stringent 'admonitions were given respecting discipline.' Traces of another idea, never lost sight of, are found in the enactment that in future the ex-President shall deliver an appropriate charge to the young men formally admitted into the ministry" (p. 396).

Mr. Bunting's great work at Leeds was the placing of the Methodist Foreign Missions on the basis of a regular organization with its public meetings, its collecting system, and its network of committees. Dr. Coke had left the country for India. Thus the Missions of Methodism had lost their main-spring, humanly speaking, of means and influence. How they were to be maintained in his prolonged absence was the problem; how to be maintained when the Indian Mission was about to bring on the perplexed committee in London immensely increased expense. Even before the news arrived of Dr. Coke's death on the voyage—many months before—this condition of things had determined Mr. Bunting to take a practical initiative in the way of organization. Hence the first Missionary Meeting at Leeds in October 1813. All that belongs to this subject has become, long ago, part of Methodist history. Mr. Bunting's heart was in the Mission field, to which he had been willing to give himself and all his faculties. The step he took was an amazingly bold one. He determined, in effect, to force the hand of the Conference and to take captive the heart of the Connexion. This course could only have been justified by a Connexional emergency of the very gravest character, and, if it had proved a failure, he could hardly have escaped condemnation. The emergency, however, was terribly grave—its gravity was felt by all when the news

came of Dr. Coke's death—and the movement which was initiated at Leeds proved a wonderful success. Such a critical victory could not but very greatly strengthen Mr. Bunting's position in the Connexion. The Conference of 1814 sanctioned what had been done at Leeds. Several of the Northern Districts had speedily followed the example of Leeds. Gradually all the Districts came in. London was late in its accession. Serious perplexities and some jealousies—some previous differences of judgment, as to the management of the Missions, which still rankled in the minds of a few leading laymen, and the conviction on the part of some men of great influence that, unless full development was given to lay co-operation in the management of the Society, the new organization could not give satisfaction or be effective—a feeling in which Mr. Bunting very strongly shared—combined to keep London for a time from joining in the movement. Mr. Bunting, however, was himself appointed to London (the Queen Street or West London Circuit) in 1815; in 1816 the Conference adopted resolutions on the subject which gave general satisfaction; and then, in the spring of 1817, the crown was put upon the new movement by the holding of the first general meeting of the Missionary Society in City Road Chapel. Those who desire to follow the details of this interesting chapter of Methodist organization must be referred to the volume under review and to Dr. Smith's *History of Methodism*, vol. ii.

In connection with this great work Richard Watson, recently restored to the parent Connexion after his secession for a time to the New Connexion, was brought into close acquaintance and co-operation with Mr. Bunting, and a friendship was thus cemented between the two greatest men in Methodism—Watson, as a preacher, being loftier, larger, more exquisite in his language, and more classically eloquent than Mr. Bunting, although he was less animated and forcible in his delivery, and less powerful in his applications and appeals, and as a legislator and administrator was inferior alike in experience and in the faculties of a practical statesman. The return of Watson to the parent church led to some abortive overtures for union between the Old and the New Connexion. "It will generally happen," says the biographer in reference to this

matter, "in the case of separation from the Methodists, that when time has removed the original disputants, and a new generation considers more calmly the points in dispute, financial difficulties, if no other, will present an insuperable bar to any formal healing of the breach" (p. 437).

From this time forth Mr. Bunting gave all his heart to helping, by counsel, effort, and influence, the cause of foreign missions. The English and Welsh Home Missions, which, under Dr. Coke's superintendence, had been united with the work of West Indian and North American Missions, were now separated; they were absorbed and consolidated into the ordinary home-system of circuits, a new collection being created to aid the resources of the Contingent Fund, so as to enable the Conference to render necessary help to the weakest and poorest circuits. Foreign missions became the passion of Methodism. The time was as yet distant when, by the enormous aggregation of population in manufacturing centres, and by the gradual depletion of the agricultural districts of the country, it would become imperatively necessary to reorganize a Methodist Home Mission system to meet the needs both of densely and of sparsely peopled districts. It was a grand enthusiasm which was kindled by the death of Coke, and the efforts and eloquence of Mr. Bunting, Mr. Watson, and their coadjutors. It was yet many years before Mr. Bunting was set apart from circuit work as the senior secretary of the Missionary Society; but during all the interval, whether he was stationed in a circuit or held the office of Connexional editor, as he did in the years 1821-24, if he was not always officially identified with the secretarial work, as he was in some years, he was always the most powerful leader and the most influential counsellor in the work of the Missionary Society.

Meantime, the work of organizing the Connexional finances was proceeding steadily on the lines which Mr. Bunting had long before marked out in his own mind, and advocated in his private intercourse and correspondence with the leading ministers of the body. The constitution of the Missionary Society had been a great victory of principle and a great triumph of organization. In 1818 a mixed Connexional Chapel Committee was formed; at first it met in London, but

after a while its place of meeting was removed to Manchester, which for more than sixty years has been the centre of the Connexional chapel administration—an administration which has for many years been admirable for the ability and the wisdom with which its great responsibilities have been discharged. In this step of Connexional consolidation, as in the organization of the Children's Fund about the same time, and indeed in every movement of organic progress for thirty years after this date, Mr. Bunting took a leading part; in most cases he originated the movement; in all, his strong and wise intellect, ripened by experience, guided and confirmed it.

His son gives a sketch of his father's Sunday work at this time, which we cannot but quote, long as the quotation is:

"To the congregations which everywhere crowded to his ministry, he addressed himself with a care, but with an ease, which told how highly he estimated his calling as a preacher, and how competent he was to fulfil it. The personal recollections of childhood now come to my aid, and recall the quiet Sundays which the mother and the little children spent together; the father, when at home, very grave and silent, during the short meal times; shut up, then, in his study except when in the pulpit; his hurry to leave home for chapel—generally with but half the proper time for the walk; and then his appearance in the pulpit; very like, but yet very unlike, the man we had seen ten minutes before: self-collected, dignified, as though conscious of an aim which was in itself a power, but as waiting for a stronger power still; then the clear voice and natural tone and enunciation of a speaker who, you felt, had no heart to conceal; the Liturgy, the hymns, the very advertisements, all gone through as if each were the only duty to be discharged; the extemporaneous prayer—in forenoon service short, solemn, and tender, and at night full, comprehensive, intercessory, pleading—the echo of a restful, restless heart; then the sermon, varied too in its character with the earlier or the later service of the day; in the former case expository, instructive, consolatory, yet abounding, every now and then, with remonstrance and appeal to the unconverted; whilst, in the evening, the almost uniform effort, often for an hour and a half at a time, was to reach the consciences of that special class of hearers; then the closing hymn, generally of short and stirring metre, putting words of penitence and purpose into lips which longed to utter them; then that last earnest agony of the day—that swelling tide of desire and prayer, which, as it rose higher and higher, swept the whole people into its course, and was echoed not seldom by their audible, consentient, low-breathed murmurs, but with no vain, blatant, meaningless outbursts; then, generally, the meeting of the Society, for addresses, for

which he had made careful written preparations; then, after service, the only two hours' leisure of the week; the children, other than those in arms—permitted to sit up and keep the festival; and the supper of such cheap luxury as hard times allowed, and the friends who came in, and the hoarse but cheerful voice which spoke to us all, and the very short family prayers, and the softly creeping weariness, and the bed!" (pp. 459-60).

If we add to this another description relating to his second ministry in Manchester some years later—from 1824 to 1830—our readers will have as complete an idea as can be hoped for of this great preacher, when his powers were at their highest.

"Some means of forming an estimate of my father's pulpit efficiency have already been given; but there are more to add. No impression has yet been conveyed of what may be called the masterfulness and power of his preaching, especially when, while pursuing the well-prepared substance of his sermon, he launched into extemporaneous, vehement, and passionate appeal. At such times, he thundered as perhaps only Benson had done before him. He cared for no man; disdained the use of no legitimate means of producing instant conviction; freed himself from all customary restraints as to the length of his discourses; and was, in every respect, and almost on every occasion, the unresisted, because irresistible, controller of the thoughts and feelings of those who heard him. His course of preaching was very carefully mapped out; the morning sermon being spent upon the Christian people, and so, 'profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness,' not less than for encouragement and comfort. In the evening his object and aim were manifestly different. The discourse was earnestly evangelistic; not, in the too common sense of modern times, an invitation to all and sundry, convinced or unconvinced of sin and sinfulness, prepared or unprepared deliberately to assume the grave responsibilities of the Christian life, to betake themselves to the Saviour; but, in the first instance, command and persuasion to repentance and submission; and detailed exposition of the unrighteousness and folly of a wicked or godless course; and then, when they that were sick felt forced to seek the Physician, the exhibition of His healing and restoring power. The terrible doctrine of the future and everlasting punishment of sin, especially in relation to well-instructed, but obstinately impenitent sinners, was always assumed, but seldom directly taught; and then never with the fearsome details into which human exegesis sometimes rashly ventures. There it hung, a black cloud upon the horizon of coward consciences, to burst into fatal storm, or to be reft asunder by the light of reconciling mercy, as the free-willed man might reject or accept the offices of the Good Spirit. It is a mistake to

suppose that the early Methodist preachers, and those who were trained by them, owed their success, under God's blessing, either to fervid descriptions of the 'wrath to come,' or to the commendation of God's free mercy indiscriminately to all classes of hearers. What to them was faith, were it possible, without repentance? or holiness, were it possible, without faith?

"Immense congregations flocked to his ministry at this time; working-men and poor women thronging the places reserved for their use. The whole round of the Methodist discipline, as it had been learned from childhood, was strictly observed. Crowded prayer-meetings, love-feasts, and public band-meetings, and, above all, the meetings of the Societies, were regularly held. The ordinary week-night services attracted some two-thirds of the Sunday hearers. All possible pains were taken to make specially impressive the annual Watch-night services, always lasting for three hours, and giving scope for the earnest exercises of local preachers. So also as to the Covenant services, and the Sunday services preceding and following both. One occasion is remembered when, the last day of the year falling on the Sunday, the usual evening service lasted from six until after eight o'clock, and the subsequent Watch-night service from nine until after twelve; and the chapel was crowded to excess. An old Methodist custom, too, was pursued of holding about once a quarter Watch-night services, lasting from seven till ten, on week-night evenings. Leaders' meetings also must be noted, held weekly at every principal chapel, attended with religious punctuality, the sick and vacillating reported to the minister, and the periodical pennies of the people paid into the treasury. As these meetings multiplied, a General Leaders' Meeting of all the leaders in the Circuit was occasionally held. New leaders were introduced to the whole body, related their individual experiences, and pledged themselves to diligence and fidelity. The doctrines and practices of the Liverpool Minutes had thus full play. I do not remember, however, a single Sunday evening service after which there was a prayer-meeting at the chapel, although the system of late Sunday evening cottage prayer-meeting was diligently worked throughout the district adjoining the chapel. Very seldom was the evening service finished within the two hours which general habit would have prescribed. Before the concluding benediction, there was invariably a prayer of some five or ten minutes long, which led the congregation into the very presence of God, brought them to the knees of their souls, and secured His blessing. Then, when the general congregation had been dismissed, the Society, in large numbers, stayed behind, either for the Sacrament of the Supper, or for pastoral advices; the outline of these also as carefully prepared as the most elaborate of sermons, but the delivery adapted to passing, pressing needs. I am detailing facts, and the result will soon appear. It lies upon those who wonder how people of all classes welcomed the continual return

of services such as these to explain why they wonder. It is plain that the shortened and begrudged services of the modern sanctuary bear no such fruit. The numbers of the Societies, eleven hundred to start with, were in three years doubled" (pp. 569-71).

Before Mr. Bunting entered upon his second ministry in Manchester, he had been nine years resident in London, six years in the London West and London East Circuits, three in each, and three years as Connexional Editor, and at the same time Secretary of the Missionary Society. The two chapters of the biography relating to this period, which includes Mr. Bunting's first Presidency, and the following chapter relating to his second ministerial residence in Manchester, and including his second Presidency, are among the most important in the volume. But we cannot pretend in this article to give any account of these interesting chapters, in the last of which the hand of Mr. Percival Bunting fails us, and Mr. Rowe takes up the biographer's pen. The last twenty-seven years of this great life are dealt with by his able and judicious hand.

The limits of this article will not allow us to enrich our pages with many extracts which we had marked—especially passages from letters, instinct with equity, full of wisdom, showing the highest qualities of the Christian administrator and the ecclesiastical statesman. The ministers of the Methodist Church cannot but find these passages full of instruction and suggestion—and, for the most part, scarcely less valuable for the present time than they were for those to whom they were first written. The problems of to-day were not a few of them anticipated by Dr. Bunting's * foresight more than half a century ago. The spirit, moreover, in which he dealt with the questions submitted to him is the spirit in which all such questions should always be met. The wisdom of principle and of temper, which Dr. Bunting habitually showed, can never be obsolete. Those who read this volume will not wonder that Dr. Bunting was chosen four times President, receiving that honour, in the first instance, when he was but forty-one years of age, or that, whoever might be President, he was for thirty years the

* Mr. Bunting received in 1834 the degree of D.D. from Wesleyan University, in Connecticut, U.S.

general adviser of the Connexion, and the perpetual leader of the Conference.

One secret the biography brings to light of which no one seems to have had the slightest knowledge outside of the two or three persons most nearly concerned, all of whom died before Dr. Bunting; even Dr. Bunting's most intimate friends remained entirely unacquainted with it. Although he was no party man in politics, his force and influence in the political world were sacredly consecrated to the Anti-Slavery cause. His devotion to that cause was entire and unflagging during the whole course of the intense and arduous struggle and until the grand consummation. For the sake of this cause he was prepared to make any sacrifice. He could not always carry his colleagues on the directorate of the Missionary Society fully with him; they were, as he thought, disposed, at least at one crisis, to temporize. An Anti-Slavery Association was formed in London in 1823, which Mr. Bunting thought it his duty to join. He was then, at the same time, editor of the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* and senior secretary of the Missionary Society. His colleagues and a majority of the Committee thought that, as secretary of the Society, he ought not to be a member of that Association. "He did not falter for a moment. He resigned the secretaryship and went home to meditate and pray. He was determined to pledge the *Magazine* to the advocacy of his views. . . . It was a veritable crisis in his history. I believe no man living," says his son, "knows how it was tided over." It was, however, tided over. Mr. Bunting and the *Magazine* stood fully committed. But the West Indian Missionaries were not expected to commit themselves to or by any political action or public agitation on the subject. In the following year, 1824, the Missionary Committee took up a position fully in harmony with the views and action of its senior secretary, and from that time forth the whole Connexion enthusiastically adopted the Anti-Slavery cause as a political question to be dealt with on religious grounds.

Little, if any, new light is thrown by this biography on the last ten years of Dr. Bunting's public life. Mr. Rowe had not in his hands for this period any special stores of personal

reminiscence or correspondence. It is a part of the modern history of Methodism. Accessible newspapers and other publications of modern date furnish the materials for dealing with it. Dr. George Smith, the historian of Methodism, was exceptionally well informed as to the period, was himself at the very centre of observation, and was as trustworthy, as calm and judicious, and as competent an historian and critic of all that took place as it could be hoped to find. Mr. Rowe has acted wisely, we think, in relying largely on Dr. Smith's account and judgment as to that period of painful agitation.

Of the last few years following Dr. Bunting's retirement in failing health from all official service; of the meetings held in different parts of the Connexion, in London, in Manchester, in Leeds, to do honour to him, and his own responses on those occasions; of his gradually decaying strength and long confinement before the end came, of his deep humility and lowly evangelical hope and trust, Mr. Rowe has furnished a most interesting account, closed and crowned by the late Rev. W. M. Bunting's touching narrative of the final days of him of whom he truly speaks as a "great and humble-minded man." "Simply to Thy Cross I cling;" "Whose glorious mercies never end!" "Perfect peace;" "It is glorious," seem to have been among his latest breathings. The last eighteen months had been "passed in much and varied suffering, and in seclusion from all Christian assemblies." He died on June 16, 1858, having, a month before, entered his eightieth year.*

* Two very interesting papers on Dr. Bunting, full of vivid description and racy reminiscence, are contained in the *Wesleyan Magazine* for last November and December. They are from the pen of Dr. Gregory, the editor. In our article on *The Middle Age of Methodism and its Greatest Man*, in the last number of this journal (on p. 136), 312, 314 should be 393, and on p. 140 *Ashton-under-Lyne* should be *Staleybridge*.

ART. II.—WILLIAM HOYLE, OF TOTTINGTON.

In Memoriam: William Hoyle, of Tottington, Manufacturer, Philanthropist, and Economist. A Posthumous Treatise and a Biography. Edited by F. R. LEES. Manchester: 44, John Dalton Street. 1887.

“**I**N the beautiful and commodious Wesleyan School at Tottington—the erection of which was due to the persistence and energy of Mr. Hoyle—there is to be found,” says Dr. Lees, “the following inscription in black letters on a tablet of white marble:—*In Memoriam: WILLIAM HOYLE, born 5th November, 1831; died 26th February, 1886. Class Leader, Steward, Trustee, and Day-school Manager: Statistician of the Temperance Movement: His life was of the highest integrity and untiring beneficence. Twenty-five years of loving toil he devoted to the welfare of the young as Teacher and Superintendent. This tablet is erected by the Teachers and Scholars, a record of affection and reverence, inspired by a life of pure aims and unremitting labour for the good of the community.*

‘Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might.’”

It was most fitting and appropriate that the teachers and scholars at Tottington should thus “write on marble” their estimate of the worth of their departed friend, counsellor, and fellow-worker. Few men cared less for such “records” than Mr. Hoyle; and yet, if it be right and worthy to preserve in such a way the memory of honest worth and noble deeds, few men are more deserving of such memorials. Nor could a more suitable place be found for such a “tablet” than the Wesleyan school at Tottington. Here Mr. Hoyle was best known and most respected. And if both church and school at Tottington owed much to him, he too owed much to the religious influences and associations represented by them. Mr. Hoyle valued much the love and respect of his fellow-Christians, and no commendation was ever sweeter to him than the praise of the church to which he was intelligently and devotedly attached, and the hearty goodwill of those amongst whom he lived and

laboured. The memorial record speaks of his connection with the temperance movement, and this also is well, for without such a reference, and this too of the most prominent character, no memorial to Mr. Hoyle would be complete. "After the question of personal religion," as his biographer remarks, "Mr. Hoyle's supreme interests centred in the agitation for abstinence and prohibition." Not only in his own native and much-loved Lancashire, but all over the United Kingdom, his temperance labours were untiring and abundant. By voice, pen, and purse, by all kinds of personal effort, he was ever ready to help this cause, which to him meant the social, industrial, intellectual, and spiritual progress of the English people. All temperance organizations and efforts had his hearty sympathy and support. While to him the "United Kingdom Alliance" represented the ultimate embodiment and expression of all temperance effort, he was in full sympathy with all kinds of moral suasion, and nothing delighted him more than to observe the growing sentiment in favour of temperance reform in his own church, and in connection with all the Christian churches in the land. In his later years, and after his statistical and economic works on the temperance question became better known, he wrote annually a letter to the *Times* on the "Nation's Drink Bill." These letters were looked upon as authoritative by large classes of the people; they always received great prominence in the columns of the leading journal; and whether men accepted all Mr. Hoyle's conclusions or not, they were thankful to him for his picturesque and able summaries. For some time before his death, Mr. Hoyle was engaged on a work, on *Wealth and Social Progress in Relation to Thrift, Temperance, and Trade*, a work which he was not allowed to complete. After his death, the MSS. were put into the hands of his lifelong friend and fellow-worker, Dr. F. R. Lees, of Leeds; and, thanks to his loving and competent editorship, this work, enriched with many valuable notes and additions, is now before the world. Dr. Lees has also given us a brief but suggestive biography of Mr. Hoyle, so that in this "love-written record" we may read the story of the man and his work.

Dr. Lees complains of the scarcity of the materials at our disposal for "the picture of a character which was in some

respects *unique*—one that had great tenacity of purpose regulated by the purest love of man and duty, working, not unsuccessfully, to noble ends of social improvement, and ever sensibly promoting national progress." While it is true that we have few details about the *inner* life of Mr. Hoyle, and are therefore unable to present this part of the man to view, we know enough of him from this memoir alone, of his early struggles, his self-denial, his "tact, push and principle," his perseverance and persistency, to enable us to hold him up as an example to all noble-hearted young men. Nor can any one read this brief Life with any degree of sympathetic interest without being fired with a noble and healthy ambition to do whatever he can for his fellow-men.

William Hoyle was born in a humble home near Rawtenstall, in Rossendale, Lancashire, on November 5, 1831. Shortly after his birth his parents removed, first to Shuttleworth, and then to Brooksbottom, where the subject of this sketch spent his boyhood. He did not enjoy the educational advantages that are now within the reach of the poorest in England; those were not the days of universal education, nor were they days in which the works of the "grand masters" could be bought for a few pence. Hence we can say little about William Hoyle's "school and schoolmasters." He went on Sundays to the Wesleyan Sunday-school, and on week-days to a dame-school; and when Mr. J. R. Kay, a distinguished Wesleyan, and a munificent pioneer of superior voluntary education in Lancashire, established a day-school at Brooksbottom, he was one of the first scholars. At eight years of age he worked in the mill as a half-timer, "earning eighteenpence a week as a tenter in the weaving shed"; at thirteen, he had become a "full-timer," so diligent was he in business from his very earliest years. According to the Hebrew prophet, it is a good thing for a man to bear the yoke in his youth; William Hoyle certainly bore the yoke, and in later years he looked back upon the hard discipline of his boyhood as God's training for the future walk of his life. He was born in a pious home, and he enjoyed, and profited by, the inestimable blessing of a godly training. "Born in Rossendale," says his biographer, "one of the wildest valleys of Lancashire, and among a people

renowned as hardy toilers and enterprising manufacturers, he inherited their independence and their self-reliance. The son of parents connected with a society where morality and religion were ranked among the ideals of life, he was saved from the doubt and degradation which infest the mass of our population in the larger towns of our country. Always under a sound discipline, and early initiated into habits of industry and thrift, he naturally became a thoughtful and steady youth." True piety towards God, simple faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, hardy independence and self-reliance, industry, thrift, perseverance and self-denial—these were ever the cardinal virtues of life in Mr. Hoyle's view, and these were the virtues that he learned under his father's roof and by his mother's side. At a very early period of his life he identified himself with the temperance movement, and in this way he began to address meetings, to study social questions, and to take part in public life. This was to him not only a useful employment for his leisure hours, but, what is far better, a spur to intellectual activity and a strong incentive to self-culture. Mr. Hoyle could never do anything in a slovenly or perfunctory way; what he attempted he accomplished to the very best of his ability, and he spared no labour to make his work worthy. Hence both his membership in the religious society to which he belonged and his connection with the temperance reformation led alike to more earnest efforts at self-development. In order that he might offer his best to God and to humanity, he sought to cultivate his mind, and to master the intellectual, social, and industrial problems of the time. Of Mr. Hoyle's opinions and ideals we have not space to speak at length. They were those of a simple-minded, single-hearted, self-made man, whose personal tastes and habits were almost ascetic in their strictness and their limitations (Mr. Hoyle was a vegetarian as well as a teetotaller), and whose judgment necessarily lacked the comprehensiveness of view and nicety of balance born of wide and various culture, and rarely found in any save the greatest and the most impartial minds. He had a strong hold of some aspects of truth which were too much neglected in his time, and which he did not a little, both by his example and by his advocacy, to place before this generation of Englishmen;

but neither his political economy nor his physiological opinions are likely to be accepted either as scientifically accurate or as furnishing a complete or even approximate solution of the social problems of the day. Into these matters, however, we must not further enter here.

In 1852, Mr. Hoyle's family removed to Crawshawbooth, where he and his father hired a small shed, and in a very humble way started business as cotton manufacturers. "The experiences and struggles of the next seven years were a true discipline to the young man, and prepared him for future work. He was at his post early and late, and by energy, courtesy, carefulness, and perseverance secured a good business connection in Manchester, and laid the foundation for further success."

Nor did he in these years of hard work neglect self-culture. Indeed, all through his career, Mr. Hoyle's life was, in the best sense of the word, a *unity*. His daily work was part of his service to God, and his reading, study, self-discipline, and constant habit of observation were the means by which he made himself at once a more capable man of business, a more useful citizen, and a nobler child of God. To him, all honest toil was dignified, and, all through life, the creature with whom he had least sympathy was the man or woman too proud to work, or ashamed of industry and manual labour.

In 1859, he married Alice Fenton, of Crawshawbooth, "a woman most suitable to his character and walk in life." During this same year Mr. Hoyle removed to Tottington, where he erected a new mill and commenced business on a much larger scale; and from this time to the day of his death his life and work as "member of a Christian church, as teacher and educationist, as employer of labour, as guardian of the poor and chairman of the board, as liberal politician and temperance reformer," were associated with Tottington and its neighbourhood. Thirty years ago hand-loom weaving was carried on in this place, "which was an ugly irregularly built Lancashire village, having an annual feast or fair. This fair was of old a perfect carnival of drink, rudeness, and riot. But long ago hand-loom weaving has been superseded, and under the influence of Mr. Hoyle and his temperance associates, the

disgraceful scenes which marked the olden times have vanished. New and commodious buildings, and whole rows of beautiful and convenient residences for the industrious classes, *mostly owned by themselves*, have been erected. It is now a clean, prosperous, and highly moral little town." According to Mr. Samuel Buckley, a man familiar with the history of Tottington during the last thirty years, Mr. Hoyle was largely instrumental in making this change in the character of the town. He taught the people to give up drinking, to cultivate habits of thrift, self-denial, and industry, and instead of wasting their money at the public-houses to save it up for the rainy day, and to invest it in co-operative undertakings. Nor did Mr. Hoyle confine himself to temperance work; he was an enthusiastic advocate for the education of the people, and, long before Mr. Forster's Education Act, he had persuaded the people around him to educate their children. "After Mr. Forster's Bill became the law of the land, he was one of the principal managers of the Wesleyan day-school at Tottington. He saw to it that the children of the neighbourhood derived all its possible advantages, and, in addition to the Government inspection, examined the children personally, and gave prizes out of his own pocket to those most successful in passing his examinations—examinations more severe than those which the Government inspector imposed upon them. Although an extensive employer of labour, he placed his own children on a level with others in the same school, and keen rivals were some of the competitors whom they found amongst their comrades."

As an employer of labour, Mr. Hoyle won the respect of all who knew him and of all who worked under him. He knew better than most employers what a *fair day's work* meant, and he insisted on a fair day's work for a fair day's wage; at the same time, he was most considerate of the feelings of those whom he employed, and he ever sought to act according to the letter and spirit of the "golden rule." Like other employers, he had to contend against the evil influence of the public-house, and sometimes to dismiss men because of drunkenness; even in such cases "he would still seek, by expostulation and advice, to reclaim them, and he was sometimes rewarded by success." In 1884, on his return from his American tour,

his work-people presented him with an illuminated address, in which they bear testimony to his character as an employer, and to their appreciation of his efforts for the good of the people. Among other things, they declare that he "*kept his works going full time through all periods of depressed trade, and even in the very trying times of the cotton famine*"; they also speak of his strong love of justice, and his forbearance in times of difficulty and contention. Testimonies like these from those who knew Mr. Hoyle from day to day, and who were many years in his employment, show that he lived as he taught, and that he tried to do justice, to love mercy, to walk humbly with his God, and lovingly towards his brother men.

As a social reformer, and especially as an enthusiastic temperance worker, Mr. Hoyle was best known, and will be longest remembered, by his fellow-countrymen. His time, thought, energy, influence and means were given most ungrudgingly to this great work; in the cause of temperance he prayed and laboured with unwearied devotion and unfaltering faith. In 1876, at the annual meeting of the Council of the United Kingdom Alliance, he uttered the following words:

"I would much rather leave my children penniless in a country where strong drink is *not* sold, than leave a fortune as things are. I have made up my mind to leave no fortune to my children if I have also to leave the liquor traffic in the country. . . . If we can remove the liquor traffic, the prospects of the country will soon be so bright that we need have no apprehension about leaving fortunes to our children; we shall leave a far handsomer legacy in their sober and industrious surroundings."

As Dr. Lees remarks: "Mr. Hoyle based all his hopes of social progress upon the personal and moral improvement of the people, and he clearly saw that the chief corner-stone of that and all other work of the kind must be true temperance—*i.e.*, abstinence from evil in body, soul, and circumstance." Inspired by these high aims, he laboured incessantly in a cause which to him was most holy; addressing meetings, organizing temperance work, thinking out the economic problems associated with the intemperance of the country, and, as he used to put it, "preparing shot and shell for others." His economic essays, papers, and addresses did much to awaken public interest in this aspect of the drink question.

At one time Mr. Hoyle allowed himself to be persuaded that he might serve the cause of temperance and of progress by entering Parliament. Acting upon this belief, he accepted the invitation of the Liberal Association at Dewsbury to become their candidate, and fought a gallant and honourable but unsuccessful election contest. Upon this part of our friend's life we need not dwell. His biographer says that Mr. Hoyle was "too pure a man to meddle in party politics," and that he was "altogether unfitted to contend with the unscrupulous political elements involved;" certainly, his own feeling afterwards was that he could be "more useful outside Parliament," and doubtless he was right. If, as a candidate, he fought and lost, he at least fought honourably, and more than 3,000 Dewsbury citizens recorded their votes for this earnest social reformer.

His labours in the cause of social reform, added to business cares and worries, arising out of disputes into which we need not enter, evidently told upon Mr. Hoyle's health. In 1880 he had a "grave break-down," which alarmed his family, but change of scene, rest, and good nursing appeared to restore him to health, and once more he resumed his loved work. In 1884 he made a short tour in North America, partly in search of health, partly also because he wished to see with his own eyes the results of "Prohibition," either partial or complete, upon social life. His accounts of this visit are full of interest, and his conviction of the importance and urgency of temperance reform was much strengthened by what he saw and heard. In 1885, Miss Hoyle's majority, and the twenty-fifth anniversary of the opening of Spring Mill and Bottom's Hall Factory, were celebrated. Mr. Hoyle took the chair, and entered with all his old enthusiasm into a review of the social changes wrought upon the district. But his health was failing, and the old freshness and elasticity of mind only returned for short periods. He was absent from the annual meeting of the Alliance in October, and his letter to his comrades told of "feeble health and inability to stand the strain of public meetings"; his heart was true as ever to the cause, and he earnestly prayed that the Council might be divinely guided in its responsible, and, in his view, urgent

work. "The winter which followed was trying, and the feebleness and weariness of our friend continued, borne with a patient and pious placidness. The end came at last rather suddenly." He had gone to Southport for change of air; the journey was too much for him, and there, on the evening of the 26th February, he "peacefully breathed his last." "His one prayer," says his friend, the Rev. Charles Garrett, "was that he might not live to be useless, and God heard him in that prayer; and so, while it was yet day, his sun had set." He was borne by his own workmen to the "graveyard attached to the Tottington Wesleyan Chapel," hundreds following in the mournful procession. The coffin bore the simple inscription: "William Hoyle, died 26th February, 1886; aged 55 years."

"And there," says Dr. Lees, "in the Wesleyan churchyard of Tottington, on the rude Lancashire hills, where strong men are born and nurtured, lie interred the mortal remains of William Hoyle, a man of the people, and a prophet who *had* honour in his own country; and to that grave many pilgrims will resort in future years, as to the shrine of one whose laborious life, if not long, was at least not dribbled through a sieve, but went direct as an arrow to its mark—the mark of a true and high calling in Christ—pilgrims who will find in his example a fresh inspiration to make life a 'thing of beauty' and of nobleness; for such a life *is*, and alone is, worth the living."

ART. III.—THE WORKING CLASSES IN LONDON.

1. *Parliamentary Blue Book on the Condition of the Working Classes in selected Districts of London.* London: 1887.
2. *Condition and Occupations of the People of The Tower Hamlets, 1886-7.* By CHARLES BOOTH. London: 1887.

ONE of the best things that Mr. Frederic Harrison has ever said is that "that day is misspent in which no thought is given to the problem how to better the condition of the poor." The main difficulty in acting on this truly Christian aphorism is to know who are the poor, how many there are

of them, and what are the causes, the characteristics, and the extent of their poverty. Never was there so much thought given to this perennial and puzzling problem, and never was there such a disposition, such an anxiety, and such an exuberant ability of all kinds practically to work out the solution of the problem, if only we could be approximately certain that the means employed would effect the end in view. The very first step towards grappling with the problem is to find out as nearly as possible what is the actual condition of the poor; and almost everywhere this first step has yet to be taken. For many years the condition of the poorer classes in the metropolis has excited the sympathetic interest of an ever-increasing number of politicians, social reformers, and philanthropists; the churches have been thrilled by bitter cries; the Press has teemed with statements, sometimes wild, and almost always either vague or contradictory; meetings have been held, committees formed, commissions issued, and proposals made; but not until quite recently has any large and systematic attempt been made to ascertain the facts of the case.

The scientific spirit of the age has at last, however, penetrated into the councils of philanthropy; and, as the result of a request for an investigation, made to the Local Government Board by the Conference on Metropolitan Distress held at Earl Cowper's house in January last, we have before us a Blue Book containing an elaborate report by Dr. William Ogle based on a voluminous "tabulation of the statements made by men living in certain selected districts of London in March 1887." About the same time a similar, but unofficial, inquiry into the condition and occupations of the people in the Tower Hamlets was completed by Mr. Charles Booth, whose paper, read before the Statistical Society in May, is reprinted in the second volume on our list. Our present object is briefly to set forth the main results of these inquiries and investigations.

Dr. Ogle, as befits the Superintendent of Statistics at the General Register Office, is exceedingly sceptical as to the value of the returns made to him, and by him presented to the President of the Local Government Board. From the official point of view, no doubt, these returns are incomplete and untrustworthy; and, if a basis were sought for legislation, or even for charitable effort and social reform, a much more ex-

tensive and careful investigation would be needed. Nevertheless, with ordinary precaution, and especially with the usual allowance for the personal equation, it seems to us that, whilst very defective from an ideal standpoint, and whilst almost worthless when judged by the official standard, these statistics may serve many useful purposes. In general, they may serve to dissipate some prevalent and pestilent errors, and moderate some extravagant statements; and, what is perhaps the most pressing need at the present juncture, they may help, even if they fall far short of accuracy, to relieve that sense of hopelessness and helplessness which often weighs so cruelly upon the hearts of philanthropic workers in the midst of metropolitan misery.

The districts selected for the inquiry are mainly inhabited by the working classes, the eastern covering the entire parish and registration district of St. George's-in-the-East; the western consisting of portions of Battersea; the northern, of portions of Hackney; and the southern, of portions of Deptford. Collectors, suited to the purpose by their local knowledge and general qualifications, were selected by the district registrars, and sent from house to house with question-cards, on which they were instructed to write the answers of those who were willing to give information. Many of these cards were rejected by Dr. Ogle as altogether worthless, but no less than 29,451 were accepted as fairly complete. Together with their families, those whose statements were used make up a total of 125,313. Classifying them according to their occupations, it was found that the 29,451 informants fell into the 35 groups described in the table on p. 255. Each of these groups is divided into those born in and those born out of the United Kingdom. Only two of the groups—the tailors and the sugar-bakers, residing chiefly in the eastern district—show a preponderance of foreign over native workmen, and in only six out of the thirty-five groups is the proportion of foreign to native more than nine per cent. Of the total number of persons interrogated, only five per cent. were foreigners; and in the six trades where they are chiefly found—*i.e.*, in groups 6, 8, 9, 21, 22, and 23—they are, in essential respects, nearly on an equality with the native workmen. Both pay an average rent of 6s. 4d.

per week, and their average earnings are 22s. 7d. for natives and 21s. 5d. for foreigners. It should be remembered, however, first, that these six groups are none of them very large, the total number of men returned in them being only 2,678; and, secondly, that the proportions in these tables by no means represent the proportions for the whole of London, inasmuch as the districts selected, with the exception of St. George's, are not the districts in which foreigners chiefly reside: had White-chapel or Soho, for instance, been included in the inquiry, the figures would have been widely different. Some deduction should be made from the statement that 97 per cent. of the 29,451 had lived in London for over a year, and 91 per cent. in the same locality if not in the same house; because many of them would be tempted to overstate the time in the hope that they might thus establish a claim to assistance. But, as only 27 per cent. were out of work at the time, the deduction need not be a large one. If the period covered by the question had been extended, say to five or six years, the answers would have thrown much more valuable light on the subject of recent migration and immigration. Similar deductions must be made from the returns as to rent and earnings. Here the temptation to inaccuracy, exaggeration, and extenuation would be definite and strong. At all events, we may safely conclude that the rent would not be understated, and that the amount repaid by lodgers would not in every case be deducted; on the other hand, it is almost certain that the wages would not be overstated or the earnings of other members of the family in all cases included. Taking the returns as they stand, we find that, in the thirty-five groups, the average rent returned was 6s. 2d. a-week, and the average earnings 24s. 7d.—the rent swallowing up a fourth of the income. Of still greater interest are the returns of the numbers “in work and out of work at the time of the inquiry” (the latter end of March 1887—there had been a snowstorm not long before), and “out of work at any time since October 1886”; as also those relating to house-accommodation, to regularity of employment, and to the receipt of assistance from various sources. For minute details reference must be made to the Blue Book itself, but for the convenience of our readers we have compiled the general table that will be found on the next page.

Groups:	Percentage Living in			Average Rent and Earnings of Men in work at Date of Inquiry.			Percentage out of regular Work at date of October 31, 1886.	Percentage in regular employment of men in Work.	Percentage of Men out of Work receiving Assistance.			
	Part of Room.	One Room.	Two Rooms.	Three Rooms.	Average Weekly Rent.	Average Weekly Earnings.			Parish or Union.	Club or Society.	Charity.	Members of Family.
The 35 groups	3	17	21	59	s. d. 6 2	s. d. 24 7	27	53	63	46	32	33
1. Clerk, traveller, &c. ...	4	11	9	76	7 5	29 7	15	22	24	32	95	44
2. Carman, cartier, &c. ...	3	24	23	50	4 7	22 0	17	38	50	54	18	37
3. Cabman, omnibus driver, &c. ...	3	16	27	54	5 10	24 0	19	39	69	29	29	41
4. Domestic servant, waiter, &c. ...	1	16	19	64	6 7	23 4	24	30	—	90	10	39
5. Shopman, warehouseman, &c. ...	4	18	17	63	6 10	23 8	24	30	—	67	10	39
6. Baker ...	3	18	21	58	6 4	25 10	27	45	14	—	42	46
7. Butcher ...	5	17	10	66	6 4	25 2	26	48	14	—	42	46
8. Tailor ...	3	17	23	57	6 9	22 7	21	67	57	—	14	38
9. Bootmaker, shoemaker ...	3	20	24	53	6 2	21 0	21	68	57	14	50	22
10. Watchmaker, jeweller, &c. ...	5	7	13	75	7 2	28 10	13	37	62	44	50	44
11. Engine, machine maker, &c. ...	3	8	15	74	7 0	31 5	20	35	60	17	34	33
12. Blacksmith, cooper, smith, &c. ...	3	11	18	68	6 5	29 9	26	49	16	16	29	38
13. Printer, bookbinder, ...	2	10	12	74	6 10	29 9	12	29	51	11	29	43
14. Carpenter, joiner, &c. ...	3	10	14	74	6 11	30 10	27	59	26	91	39	38
15. Cooper ...	3	15	23	59	6 7	27 0	26	47	43	43	22	35
16. Shipwright, &c. ...	1	5	13	81	7 0	30 5	44	66	34	101	56	36
17. Mason, bricklayer, &c. ...	3	13	47	38	6 6	31 1	37	79	59	50	13	37
18. Painter, plumber, &c. ...	2	13	17	80	6 6	28 7	33	72	53	33	29	40
19. Wheelwright, &c. ...	1	12	13	85	7 0	34 8	15	74	91	43	16	45
20. Carriage-maker, &c. ...	3	12	22	65	6 7	26 7	20	63	85	62	22	52
21. Furrier, skin-dresser, dyer ...	8	17	30	45	5 9	23 1	23	48	85	—	—	23
22. Sugar-baker, &c. ...	3	17	30	45	5 9	23 1	9	16	93	—	—	44
23. Cigar maker, ...	1	18	30	51	6 5	26 6	27	56	29	118	59	35
24. Policeman ...	—	1	13	86	7 0	29 3	6	8	90	—	—	25
25. Saman, waterman, &c. ...	3	13	24	60	6 0	25 6	31	54	15	91	56	28
26. Railway guard, signman, &c. ...	3	14	26	58	6 11	26 3	2	5	99	33	—	29
27. Railway porter, ...	3	14	26	58	6 11	26 3	6	9	97	31	—	33
28. Engine driver, fireman, &c. ...	3	10	20	67	6 7	28 9	14	25	89	71	41	27
29. Labourer, navy, &c. ...	3	23	24	49	5 4	21 2	37	62	100	30	34	32
30. Dock labourer ...	13	6	30	25	4 5	17 0	55	89	108	03	17	24
31. Hawker, costermonger, &c. ...	5	40	23	31	5 0	15 4	26	60	108	—	24	24
32. Watchman, messenger, &c. ...	5	14	16	65	7 9	24 1	13	25	85	—	26	41
33. Watchman, &c. ...	5	14	16	65	7 9	24 1	4	7	107	—	107	—
34. Other artisans ...	3	14	17	66	7 3	25 3	18	41	71	63	50	35
35. Non-descript ...	4	19	19	58	6 3	22 11	25	41	54	15	29	40

Mr. Booth's paper contains the first-fruits of a proposed inquiry into the condition and occupations of the people of London. His plan is to divide the entire population by districts and by groups of trades, each answering to a similar division in the census; and then to deal with each district by a local inquiry, and with each group of trades by a trade inquiry—the double method being intended to provide a check upon the results of each investigation. The facts and figures now before us represent the condition and occupations of the people in one district, but, as they cannot yet be examined in the light of a trade inquiry, they must be received with caution. The fact that many of the results have been arrived at, not by actual inquiry, but by calculation (however careful the calculation may have been), must also be taken into account in estimating their value. The district chosen by Mr. Booth for his first essay was the Tower Hamlets School Board Division, comprising the registration districts or unions of Whitechapel, St. George's-in-the-East, Stepney, Mile End Old Town, and Poplar, a district containing nearly half-a-million souls—"a piece of London supposed to contain the most destitute population in England, and to be, as it were, the focus of the problem of poverty in the midst of wealth which is troubling the minds and hearts of so many people." The primary source of Mr. Booth's information was the statements of the School Board visitors, most of whom have been working in the same district for several years, and have an extensive knowledge of the people. Every house in every street is in their books, and details are given of every family with children of school age. It is their duty, moreover, to make "special and careful inquiries into all cases in which there is any question as to remission of school fees—a duty which enables them to obtain exceptionally good information on questions of employment and earnings, especially as regards the poorer classes."

The number of persons coming directly under the notice of these visitors is from half to two-thirds of the population. The rest have been scheduled either "in proportion" or by means of supplementary information obtained from rent collectors with respect to the inhabitants of the principal blocks of buildings and some other special property, or from the Police Commis-

sioners with respect to the inmates of the common lodging-houses. Indoor paupers and other inmates of institutions are not included in the schedules. "The information used was mostly obtained in the winter of 1886 and in the early spring of 1887, but a whole year was, as far as possible, taken as the unit of time."

All possible care seems to have been exercised in making the calculations and working out the proportions in each of the 39 sections, into which the population is first divided according to the character of the employment of the heads of families, and in each of the classes into which they are afterwards divided according to their means and position. Each section and each class is described in the body of the paper, and numerous tables are given, interspersed with valuable dissertations on special subjects, such as employment at the Docks, the Jewish Settlement and Immigration, the Sweating System and Middlemen, Working Women, and the Unemployed. Two of Mr. Booth's general summaries will be found on pages 260 and 261. From the latter of these it will be seen that the proportion of the population in these districts represented to be above the line of poverty is no less than 65 per cent.; that on the line, 22 per cent.; and those falling chronically below the line, 13 per cent. By the "poor" are meant "those who have a fairly regular but bare income such as 18s. to 21s. a week for a moderate family," and by "very poor" those who fall below this standard.

The 13 per cent. below the line of poverty form the first two classes in Mr. Booth's scheme. Class A, comprising about 1½ per cent. of the population, is made up of "some occasional labourers, loafers, semi-criminals, a proportion of the street-sellers, street-performers, and others." To these ought to be added the homeless outcasts of the streets, and also those who conceal criminal pursuits under a nominal trade, but it is difficult, if not impossible, to enumerate these, and Mr. Booth admits that his figures may not fully cover them.

"The life of this whole class is really a savage life, with vicissitudes of extreme hardship and occasional excess. Their food is of the coarsest description, and their only luxury is drink. It is not easy to say how they live. . . . These are the battered figures who slouch through the streets

and play the beggar or the bully and foul the record of the unemployed. . . . They degrade whatever they touch, and as individuals are almost incapable of improvement. . . . Those who are able to wash the mud may find some gems in it. There are, at any rate, many very piteous cases."

Class B contains over 11 per cent. of the population. It is not, like the previous class, "one in which men are born and live and die, so much as a deposit from those who from mental, moral, and physical causes are incapable of better work. These people, as a class, are shiftless, hand-to-mouth, pleasure-loving, and always poor: to work when they like and play when they like is their ideal. . . . They cannot stand the regularity and dulness of civilized existence. . . . There is drunkenness among them, especially among the women, but drink is not their special luxury as it is with the lowest class, nor is it their passion as with a portion of those with higher wages and irregular but severe work." In Classes C and D are to be found the 22 per cent. who are on the line of poverty. The former is made up of labourers in irregular employment, with additions from the poorer artisans, street-sellers, and the smaller shops.

"This is a pitiable class, consisting largely of struggling, suffering, helpless people. They are, more than any others, the victims of competition, and on them falls with particular severity the weight of recurrent depressions of trade. . . . Here, perhaps, may be found the most proper field for systematic charitable assistance; but it is very necessary to insist (as the Charity Organization Society untiringly does) on some evidence of thrift as a pre-condition or consequence of assistance."

Class D includes all the men in regular work at a wage not exceeding 21s. a week, most of the home industries, and a contingent from the poorer artisans, small shops, &c.

"This is the proper field for friendly help of a private kind. No class deserves greater sympathy; its members live hard lives very patiently. . . . Public charity, however carefully dispensed, might tempt them into irregularity; but help from those who know them, in times of pressure, could hardly fail to be a real and abiding boon. . . . State-aided technical education would be of very great value to the children of this class."

Class E is by far the largest of the eight, comprising 208,025 or 45½ per cent. of the population. Most of the

regular wage-earners are included it, but to these are added, "as having equal means, the best class of street-sellers and general dealers, a large proportion of the small shopkeepers, the best off amongst the home manufacturers, and some of the small employers. Combination and co-operation in all its forms would find a favourable field among this class."

Class F consists of foremen and the highest class of artisans in regular work. The last two classes, G and H, are called "Middle" classes. The former consists of shopkeepers and small employers, clerks, &c., and the lower professional class, "mostly hardworking, sober, energetic persons;" and the latter, of "what may be shortly defined as the 'servant keeping' class." But the actual middle class in the Tower Hamlets is formed by Classes D and E in Mr. Booth's schedules, the numbers above and below them being very fairly balanced.

It is greatly to be hoped that Mr. Booth will be encouraged and assisted to complete his task, and that the results already attained may be checked and supplemented by other inquiries, so that we may speedily obtain large accessions to that knowledge of the labouring population which will give power to relieve distress, to guide and stimulate aspiration, to lighten the burdens and brighten the lives of the great masses of the community.

Divided into Sections according to Character of Employment of Heads of Families.

Section.	Description.	Heads of Families.	More or less Dependent.			Un- married Men over 20.	Total.	Per- centage.
			Wives.	Children —15	Young Persons 15—20.			
Married Men.								
Labour ...	1 Lowest class, loafers, &c. ...	1,470	1,455	497	893	1,517	5,832	1'28
	2 Casual day-to-day labour ...	6,190	6,124	11,400	2,746	3,652	30,112	6'59
	3 Irregular labour	2,729	2,706	5,183	1,264	1,205	13,087	2'86
	4 Regular work, low pay	4,961	4,900	9,144	2,169	2,075	23,249	5'09
	5 " ordinary pay	10,612	10,523	20,512	5,043	4,639	51,329	11'24
Artisans	6 Foremen and responsible work...	2,889	2,864	5,705	1,354	1,220	14,032	3'07
	7 Building trades	4,871	4,818	9,775	2,319	2,008	23,791	5'21
	8 Furniture, woodwork, &c. ...	4,501	4,456	9,193	2,211	1,901	22,262	4'87
	9 Machinery and metals	4,855	4,796	9,634	2,266	1,984	23,535	5'15
	10 Sundry artisans	4,028	3,990	7,757	1,905	1,761	19,441	4'26
Locomotion	11 Dress	5,753	5,687	11,265	2,962	2,860	28,527	6'24
	12 Food preparation	3,123	3,103	6,190	1,593	1,467	15,476	3'24
	13 Railway service	1,176	1,159	2,360	555	483	5,733	1'26
	14 Road service	957	951	1,885	464	414	4,671	1'02
	15 Shops and refreshment houses ..	2,017	2,000	3,861	944	862	9,684	2'12
Assistants Other wages	16 Police, soldiers, and sub-officials	1,519	1,504	2,992	730	654	7,399	1'62
	17 Seamen	2,288	2,261	3,901	917	938	10,395	2'25
	18 Other wage earners	1,111	1,100	1,720	419	461	4,811	1'05
	19 Home industries, not employing	1,290	1,280	2,611	656	577	6,414	1'41
	20 Small employers	2,147	2,128	4,849	1,254	1,017	11,395	2'49
Dealers...	21 Large "	353	351	698	176	163	1,741	0'38
	22 Street-sellers, &c.	1,354	1,339	2,695	700	817	6,905	1'51
	23 General dealers	1,452	1,442	2,946	773	700	7,313	1'60
	24 Small shops	3,164	3,133	5,677	1,415	1,421	14,810	3'24
	25 Large shops, employing } assistants. }	1,772	1,758	3,575	894	798	8,797	1'93
Refresh- ment Salaried, &c.	26 Coffee and boarding houses	437	429	809	201	203	2,079	0'46
	27 Licensed houses	902	895	1,618	403	412	4,230	0'93
	28 Clerks and agents	3,519	3,485	6,773	1,639	1,474	16,890	3'70
	29 Subordinate professional ...	1,213	1,200	2,386	575	503	5,877	1'29
	30 Professional	491	487	1,001	242	206	2,427	0'53
No work	31 Ill and no occupation.....	373	368	714	178	169	1,802	0'39
	32 Independent	278	276	388	92	115	1,149	0'25
Total of male heads of families		(83,795)						
Females.								
33	Semi-domestic employment	2,733	—	4,308	1,058	—	8,099	1'77
	34 Dress	1,364	—	2,147	536	—	4,047	0'88
	35 Small trades	875	—	1,461	363	—	2,699	0'59
	36 Employing and professional	178	—	301	74	—	553	0'12
	37 Supported	607	—	914	228	—	1,749	0'38
38	Independent	337	—	460	114	—	911	0'20
Total of female heads of families.....		(6,094)						
39 Other adult women		—	—	—	—	—	33,714	7'38
Total population.....		89,889	82,968	169,305	42,325	38,676	456,877	— 100'00

Divided into Classes according to Means and Position of Heads of Families.

Per. centage.	Section.	A. Lowest Class.	B. Casual and Very Poor.	C. Irregular Poor.	D. Regular Minimum.	E. Regular Ordinary.	F. Highly Paid Labour.	G. Lower Middle.	H. Upper Middle.	Total.
1'28	1	5,832	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5,832
6'59	2	—	30,112	—	—	—	—	—	—	30,112
2'86	3	—	2,686	9,030	—	1,371	—	—	—	13,087
5'09	4	—	—	—	23,249	—	—	—	—	23,249
11'24	5	—	296	—	9,432	41,601	—	—	—	51,329
3'07	6	—	—	—	—	—	14,032	—	—	14,032
5'21	7	—	1,730	1,921	3,506	15,014	1,620	—	—	23,791
4'87	8	—	1,486	1,423	3,404	14,419	1,530	—	—	22,262
5'15	9	—	811	1,088	2,425	17,077	2,134	—	—	23,535
4'26	10	—	644	1,636	1,635	9,095	6,431	—	—	19,441
6'24	11	—	1,856	3,911	6,394	14,490	1,876	—	—	28,527
3'24	12	—	401	554	2,296	12,225	—	—	—	15,476
1'26	13	—	84	—	238	2,674	2,737	—	—	5,733
1'02	14	—	215	—	1,261	3,195	—	—	—	4,671
2'12	15	—	249	—	840	8,595	—	—	—	9,684
1'62	16	—	197	—	630	6,572	—	—	—	7,399
2'25	17	—	277	791	—	9,237	—	—	—	10,305
1'05	18	—	124	195	197	3,799	496	—	—	4,811
1'41	19	—	424	1,578	—	4,412	—	—	—	6,414
2'49	20	—	—	—	317	2,121	5,704	2,724	529	11,395
0'38	21	—	—	—	—	—	—	871	870	1,741
1'51	22	522	524	2,356	741	2,762	—	—	—	6,905
1'60	23	—	186	1,238	—	4,980	—	909	—	7,313
3'24	24	—	112	76	1,098	7,850	4,068	1,606	—	14,810
1'93	25	—	—	—	—	—	895	4,398	3,504	8,797
0'46	26	—	—	—	17	221	699	1,142	—	2,079
0'93	27	—	—	—	5	103	643	2,298	1,181	4,230
3'70	28	—	162	407	1,283	6,478	5,320	2,522	718	16,890
1'29	29	—	—	—	—	—	—	5,877	—	5,877
0'53	30	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,427	2,427
0'39	31	—	716	931	155	—	—	—	—	1,802
0'25	32	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,149	—	1,149
1'77	33	—	2,825	3,814	—	1,460	—	—	—	8,099
0'88	34	—	1,095	—	2,109	843	—	—	—	4,047
0'59	35	—	680	523	526	970	—	—	—	2,699
0'12	36	—	—	—	—	—	—	553	—	553
0'38	37	—	240	—	346	1,163	—	—	—	1,749
0'20	38	—	—	—	—	—	—	911	—	911
7'38	39	528	3,728	2,464	5,116	15,298	3,831	2,005	744	33,714
— 100'00	Total Per cent.	6,882 1'51	51,860 11'35	33,936 7'43	67,220 14'71	208,025 45'53	52,016 11'39	26,965 5'90	9,973 2'18	456,877 100'00

ART. IV.—WILLIAM MORLEY PUNSHON.

The Life of William Morley Punshon, LL.D. By FREDERIC W. MACDONALD, Professor of Theology, Handsworth College, Birmingham; Author of "Fletcher of Madeley," &c. Chaps. XI. to XV. by A. M. REYNAR, M.A., Professor of Modern Languages and English Literature, Victoria University, Cobourg, Ontario. With etched portrait by Manesse. London: Hodder & Stoughton.

DR. PUNSHON'S executors displayed a wise discretion in asking Mr. Macdonald to write this "Life." He has, in this volume, greatly enriched the biographical literature of Methodism. Most wisely did he refuse to be pressed into a hasty and superficial notice. Any seeming delay has arisen from a true and appreciative sense of the duty devolved upon him. He says very truly in his preface:

"Under any circumstances it could not be an easy task to weigh and analyze, to assign the limits, to give judgment, as it were, upon the qualities and work of one to whom the writer looks up with affectionate reverence; but if the attempt was to be made at all, a reasonable interval of time, the perspective of a few years seems necessary. Otherwise the 'personal equation' is apt to be a disturbing one; the biographer cannot move with becoming freedom and calmness, and the reader, possessed by memories not yet adjusted and proportioned, is hardly prepared for the measured judgments of careful biography. I have felt myself but little qualified to estimate Dr. Punshon's rank as a preacher and an orator. Something of presumption must, I fear, characterize the attempt on my part; but to make the attempt when the sound of his voice had scarcely died from the air I found impossible."

The volume unfolds to our view a wonderfully vivid picture, striking alike in the brilliance of its lights, and in the depth of the shadows that accompany them. Probably very few of the thousands of Dr. Punshon's admirers had any previous idea that there were any such shadows. Looked at from the outside, nothing could possibly be more brilliant and joyous than his marvellous career. He leaped into popularity as a preacher and orator in a moment; a popularity that never waned, but went on increasing through

all the years, and was never more conspicuous than towards the close of his life. But his sensitiveness, his modesty and humility, his yearning for affection and sympathy, his habit of constant and, as we think, rather morbid introspection, the continual and fearful strain upon his brain and nerves, and the deep and manifold sorrows of his domestic life, are all described or disclosed in this volume, and for the most part by his own hand. We are made conscious of a deep and sad undertone frequently recurring in the high music of his brilliant career. His unrivalled reputation as a public man was achieved at a heavy cost to himself, and there can be no doubt that sorrows and anxieties had much to do in bringing about his death at a time when he seemed ripened in many ways for greater and more extended usefulness than ever.

He was born at Doncaster on May 29, 1824. His father was a respectable tradesman in that town; and, though of no marked ability, was a man of admirable Christian character, and steady devotion to the interests of religion and morals. He was an ardent and loyal Methodist, holding important offices in the Wesleyan Society. William's mother, whom he tenderly loved, was Elizabeth Morley, whose father had removed to Doncaster from the neighbourhood of Castle Howard. Her brother was Mr., afterwards Sir Isaac Morley, and her younger sister, Margaret, was the first wife of the Rev. Benjamin Clough, who was one of the band of missionaries that accompanied Dr. Coke to India, and who won lasting renown as a laborious and successful missionary. His young wife's career soon came to an end, as she died less than two years after landing in Ceylon. But she left "a memory not unworthy to be associated with that of the saintly women who adorn the annals of early Methodism." Dr. Adam Clarke edited her journals and correspondence, and says that they show "to what state of useful excellence a Christian education, conducted under the influence of the Spirit of God, can raise the human heart." It is interesting to note that in her journal, written at sea, she thus refers to her nephew:

"This is my dear little nephew's birthday. May the God of his father condescend to take this tender infant into His peculiar care; and, if

spared, may he be an ornament to the Church of God, and a comfort to his parents in their declining years!" (p. 3).

The former of these petitions was, as we know, abundantly answered, but the latter was not fulfilled, both his parents being removed from earth long before their years had begun to decline. The mother died a fortnight after William had entered on his fifteenth year. He mourned for her through all his life. Her special affection for him and her tender anxiety for his highest welfare were very conspicuous; and undoubtedly her gentle and holy influence greatly fostered the deep religious yearnings which distinguished him from his earliest childhood.

Mr. Macdonald gives us a beautiful picture of the "home of which William Morley Punshon was the solitary child." It was a typical Methodist home, according to the sweet, pure, "mild and genial" Puritan pattern of sixty years ago. Its spirit was deeply religious; worldly vanities and amusements were rigidly excluded, and diligent attendance on "the round of Sunday and week-day services" was practised. The house was a "preachers' home; and, judging by our own remembrances, it was not the less bright and happy for the presence of men of very varied experience and no little shrewdness; men who could enliven many an hour by telling excellent stories; for the earliest Methodist preachers, in successive generations, were pre-eminent story-tellers, and their influence was as bright as it was godly. If it be thought that the domestic rule was over-strict in some particulars, let it be remembered that love reigned supreme in such households, and, moreover, that moderate restraint was more wholesome than the modern habit of treating as open questions which our fathers "settled by swift appeal to Scripture or pious tradition;" that surely is better than bringing in casuistry to the help of inclination, and deciding "in favour of pleasing oneself." Anyhow, the Methodist homes of Punshon's childhood were religiously strict in their discipline, and yet happy and genial in a high degree. Of other influences working upon his impressible nature, his biographer notes that of his native place, the Doncaster of "Southey's veracious Dr. Daniel Dove—an old town, with plenty of capacity for modern life;

conscious of its past, yet not lagging behind the times; somewhat churchly, though without the perilous dignity of a cathedral and a close; "a calm, leisurely, thriving place," except in race-week, when the town and the country were mad with excitement and dissipation.

"It was a 'meet nurse' for a child susceptible from the first to whatever was venerable, quaint, or impressive, yet summoned to earnest, practical life, alike by his own qualities and the call of God. He never lost his interest in the town of his birth, but continued to watch from a distance all that concerned its welfare. When in 1853 the church was destroyed by fire, few grieved for it more sincerely. He rejoiced in the noble building that rose in its place; but the new church could never be to him what the old one was. A landmark of his life was gone" (pp. 7, 8).

He can hardly be said to have had any other education than such as sufficed to fit him for commercial pursuits. He was not fourteen when his school-life closed; and he had been at four separate schools. At the last of them, conducted by Mr. Thomas Roscoe, at Heanor, in Derbyshire, he formed his well-known friendship with Gervase Smith, a friendship which became one of the most precious things in his life.

"For mutual devotion and faithful companionship, for sympathy with each other's griefs, and loyal delight in each other's happiness, this friendship of William Morley Punshon and Gervase Smith will bear comparison with the purest friendships of history or romance" (p. 15).

Mr. Macdonald not unnaturally feels some regret, that "in his eager, quick-budding spring-time, the means of culture and discipline were not more abundantly forthcoming;" but seeing that his love of poetry and eloquence was already developing into an over-mastering passion, it may be doubted whether he could have been impelled to move in any academic grooves; and if he had been, we might not have had the Punshon whom everybody loved and applauded, and who could wield enormous audiences at his will. On the whole, we may well rest content that, in the providence of God, nature was allowed to have very much her own way.

We may note here how much he prized and how diligently he cultivated early friendships. One of his companions was Richard Ridgill, afterwards a missionary in South Africa and President of the Conference in that country in 1885. The two friends

maintained a close and intimate correspondence through life ; and it was an unspeakable joy to Punshon, after an interval of forty years, to welcome his friend in London, in attendance upon the "Yearly Conference" of the mother country. With him and two other friends, Punshon formed a society called the "Quaternity"—of all things in the world, "for the pursuit of adventures." It may be as well to say here that subsequently in Hull, and again in Sunderland, he joined with a few others in founding what they called a "Menticultural Society," with a view to the pursuit of knowledge. John Lyth, afterwards Dr. Lyth, was one of the members, and Ridgill was admitted to the dignity of a corresponding member. Punshon had early informed his friend that his own tastes led in the direction of "poetry and politics," meaning by the latter chiefly, if not entirely, the cultivation of political oratory. All the members of the "Menticultural" in Hull became ministers of the Gospel.

It was in his fourteenth year that he removed to Hull and became a junior clerk in a counting-house. Here he continued to indulge his day-dreams. But in the midst of them came that awful shock to which we have referred, the death of his mother. It well-nigh broke his heart. There had existed between them the most perfect mutual affection and confidence. Thirty years afterwards, his wife by his side, he knelt and kissed her gravestone and bewailed her loss with deep emotion. His friend Ridgill lost his father soon after his own bereavement. Punshon, in a letter of condolence, exhorted him to bear his sorrow "patiently, if not with the endurance of a stoic, with the resignation of a philosopher and the understanding of a man." This fine phrase, however, was by no means a true index of the feelings which had now taken possession of him. He was really passing through the great spiritual process which we call "conviction of sin." This he confessed to his father in a deeply touching letter, in which he asked for prayer and counsel. The godly father wrote him a loving and cheery reply, encouraging him to persevere in prayer and hope. The Rev. Samuel Romilly Hall, at that time stationed in Hull, took a deep interest in his young friend; and walking with him one day along the dock side, impressed upon him "the necessity of immediate belief." "Then and there," says

Punshon in a letter to his aunt, "I was enabled to lay hold on my Saviour, and peace immediately sprung up in my heart." That was, indeed, the hour of his spiritual birth. "His whole after life, inward and outward, was but the growth, the unfolding, the leading forth into ten thousand developments, of what he then received." That was verily the true beginning, and "the foundation" never needed to be "laid again."

He at once became a member of the Methodist Society, and presently after, a very active member. A Methodist by descent, he became one by hearty choice. "All his instincts and sympathies responded to Methodism," and he threw himself into its work as a Sunday-school teacher and a prayer leader. Very soon his thoughts were seriously directed to the ministry. On his sixteenth birthday he told his cousin, Miss Pantou, as a great secret, in one of his letters to that beloved and excellent relative, that he sometimes thought of becoming a minister, and it was not long before his convictions on this subject became definite and intense. His first attempt was made, almost accidentally, at Ellerby, near Hull, on August 2, 1840. His sermon produced an excellent impression, and "others, beside himself, believed that he was called of God to preach the Gospel." The call was not yet, however, to take effect. He had to pass through severe and painful spiritual discipline, tormented with dark and gloomy thoughts, and perplexing himself with minute casuistry. Moreover, his wise and good father died in December of the same year, and so he was completely orphaned. His loss deeply affected him. To be bereft of both parents—and such parents—at such a crisis, was indeed a heavy calamity; and our heart goes out to the lonely aspirant after the noblest calling on earth, as we think of the void which he must have felt within him, and of the yearning after the succour and support which either of his parents might have afforded him. But he found the best solace for his trouble and preparation for the future in active consecration to Christian work. He was now in Sunderland, where his *Menticultural Society* was more devotional in its spirit and exercises than that which he had formed in Hull. Mr. T. C. Squance was one of its members, and he bears witness alike to the promise for the future, and the strength of present consecration, indicated by

his early friend. His superintendent was that sturdy and enthusiastic missionary veteran, the Rev. Thos. H. Squance, the father of his young friend, who encouraged and directed the youthful aspirant. Even at this early period, the latter was exceptionally popular; and at the same time was haunted by that frequent and deep depression of spirit which never left him, and which no doubt kept him from being "exalted above measure." The "passion of preaching" was already taking possession of his soul; and every other pursuit, however much loved and eagerly followed, became henceforward entirely subordinate to this. Sermonizing was easy to him; his memory was swift and most tenacious; his delivery was "rapid, yet subtly modulated;" and so it happened that he became famous at one bound. The chapels were crowded; seventeen hundred people filled Priory Place Chapel, Doncaster, to hear one who was almost literally a boy. The perils of such popularity to one so affectionate, sympathizing, and impressible, were of course very great; but what with the internal chastening discipline to which he was subjected, and his abundant work in homely spheres of labour, he was preserved from the injurious "exciting influences of popular service and admiring crowds."

It is noteworthy that his youthful conscience was specially "awakened to the evil of vanity." His faithful self-scrutiny revealed to him a strong tendency to this evil, and he set himself to conquer it. So completely did he succeed, so thorough and conspicuous became his humility and modesty, that even his closest friends hardly suspected through what a struggle he had attained to victory. Mr. Macdonald truly says, "It was a common saying that nothing was more wonderful in Punshon than his modesty."

Mr. Squance would have proposed him as a candidate for the ministry in March 1843, he being then in his nineteenth year; but he shrank from so early an introduction, feeling that he required "more time for self-examination, for preparation, and for prayer." His uncle Clough was at that time stationed in Woolwich; and to him he went, that he might be directed in his studies, and otherwise prepared for the great work. We knew Benjamin Clough in those days, and recall with pleasure his wisdom, cheerfulness, and geniality; and he

proved a very suitable adviser for his brilliant nephew. The young man frequently indulged his love for verse-making; and his productions indicated considerable poetic promise. But the great and solemn life-work before him soon overshadowed everything else. His popularity followed him to the Metropolis. He is said to have preached one Sunday evening to two thousand five hundred people in Spitalfields Chapel.

At the Conference of 1844 he was accepted as a candidate for the ministry, and in September entered the Theological Institution at Richmond. But he soon found himself in rather a false position. He had been entered as a candidate for foreign missionary work, apparently without his knowledge of such designation, though he had offered himself for what was then called "the general work." He communicated with his friends, who decidedly objected to such designation. He then consulted the authorities of the Institution. They saw that a mistake had been made on both sides, and as there was then a redundancy of students for the home work, he left the college, and was placed on the President's "List of Reserve." But employment was soon found for him. A number of the parishioners of Marden, near Maidstone, offended at the "Puseyite" practices and teaching of the vicar, withdrew from the parish church, and asked for the appointment of a Wesleyan minister. It was deemed right to comply with this request, and Mr. Punshon was sent "to do his best in a somewhat delicate position." The appointment was a very happy one, and beneficial both to the parishioners and himself. He gave himself systematically to pastoral work, which served excellently as ballast to his extreme popularity. He had not yet entered on his "four years' probation;" but he felt, and said that, as there were no Methodists, his business, under God, was "to make some;" and he found the work to be "capital drill for the ranks." He was urged by many around him to seek orders in the Church of England, with a promise that a church should be built for him; but he turned a deaf ear to all solicitations, steadily striving to "make" some Methodists; and neither then nor at any other time did he falter for a moment in his allegiance to Methodism. At the end of his year in Marden

he "could look back with thankfulness to good work done, and useful lessons learnt."

Virtually his public career as a minister began at Marden, but formally it began at the Conference of 1845, when he was appointed to the Whitehaven circuit. Mr. Macdonald suggests, almost incidentally, a very natural division of that career into three periods—the first, extending to the time of his appointment as President of the Canadian Conference; the second, embracing the time of his residence and labours in Canada; and the third, including the remainder of his life after his return from Canada. The first of these is by much the longest; and, as witnessing the development and growth to maturity of his extraordinary powers, is in many respects the most important.

He was received "on trial," then, at the Conference of 1845, together with, among others, Thomas McCullagh, George Mather, and Ebenezer E. Jenkins. It was altogether in harmony with Methodist usage that this promising and popular youth should begin his career in a comparatively obscure and laborious sphere, where he had "plenty of fresh air and exercise, and abundant opportunity of hard work amongst a sturdy, intelligent people—farmers and miners, seafaring men and thrifty townsfolk." His fame had preceded him, and he was followed everywhere by crowded and delighted congregations. His friend Mr. McCullagh, writing of this time, says:

"It was my happiness to hear Mr. Punshon's first missionary speech. It was delivered at Harrington, a quaint little sea-port, then in the Whitehaven circuit. As I was the 'stranger' from Workington, he urged me, as the 'deputation,' to make the 'collection speech.' I was suffering from hoarseness, and so I resolutely refused. As I listened to his oration—for such it was—I felt very thankful for my hoarseness, for I do not think I could have spoken after such a speech. I was prepared for something good, as accounts reached Workington almost daily of the wonderful young preacher who had come to Whitehaven. But when I heard for myself, I found that the half had not been told me. The rush of brilliant thoughts and burning words, the perfect whirlwind of eloquence, almost took away my breath. I do not know that I was more enraptured with his speeches at Exeter Hall in after-years than with that first platform effort during the first few weeks of his ministry" (pp. 55, 56).

From Whitehaven he went to Carlisle. His probation terminated with his second year at the latter place. He was ordained at the Manchester Conference of 1849; and presently afterwards was married at the Wesleyan Chapel, Gateshead, to Miss Vickers, the child of Christian parents, and trained in a Methodist home. "She was in full sympathy with the aims of a minister's life, and well fitted by training, character, and personal experience of religion, to be a true helper to her husband." From Newcastle, at the end of three years, he removed to the Sheffield East circuit. While residing at Sheffield, he made his first public appearance in Exeter Hall, London, at the anniversary meeting, in 1853, of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, having then been only seven years in the ministry. Among the speakers were Dr. Hannah, the Right Hon. Joseph Napier (Member of Parliament for Dublin University), and—for the last time—the renowned orator of the middle age of Methodism, Dr. Robert Newton. Mr. Punshon spoke for about twenty minutes. His speech produced a great impression, giving promise of the eminence to which, as a platform orator, he was before long to rise:

"In looking back upon that meeting, an interest attaches to it which time only could bring to light. It was Robert Newton's last appearance at the anniversary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and Morley Punshon's first. For the first and last time they stood together in the cause with which their names must always be linked. The elder handed the torch to the younger, and passed away. That May morning in 1853 divides the earlier from the later period of Missionary advocacy. The name of Robert Newton may stand for the one, the name of Morley Punshon for the other" (p. 89).

In January, 1854, he reappeared in the same hall in the character of a lecturer to the Young Men's Christian Association, and delivered his lecture on "The Prophet of Horeb" to nearly three thousand people. One who was present said of it: "There was the stillness and solemnity of death. You might have heard a feather fall in that vast assembly; and when the last sentence had fallen from his lips, the whole audience rose *en masse* and cheered till it could cheer no more." This was the first of many triumphs achieved in the

same hall under similar conditions. We must pass over Mr. Macdonald's acute and discriminating account of his lecture on "Science and Literature in Relation to Religion;" and pause for a while over his second Exeter Hall lecture—that on "John Bunyan"—delivered in February, 1857. Mr. McCullagh says:

"He spoke with his usual captivating elocution, and with immense energy and force. Feeling amongst the audience grew, enthusiasm was awakened, and gathered force as he went on. At last, at one of his magnificent climaxes, the vast concourse of people sprang tumultuously to their feet. Hats and handkerchiefs were waved; sticks and umbrellas were used in frantic pounding of the floor; hands, feet, and voices were united in swelling the acclamations. Some shouted 'Bravo!' some 'Hurrah!' some 'Hallelujah!' and others 'Glory be to God!' Such a tornado of applause as swept through Exeter Hall, and swelled from floor to ceiling, I have never witnessed before or since" (p. 113).

The biographer pauses at this point to consider "the secret of the spell" by which the orator held such vast multitudes in thrall. There must be some adequate reason for such extraordinary influence. What is it? Surely nothing original or striking in the plan of the lecture on Bunyan (and the same may be said of any of his lectures), no independent research in its narrative portions, no special insight in the criticism, and nothing but what is "familiar even to triteness" in the lessons enforced. "Nevertheless," says the biographer, "there is originality from first to last." Though written, and delivered as written, it is the production of an orator rather than a writer. "The inspiration that moves, the ideal that presides, is not that of literature, but of eloquence; the structure, the succession, the rhythm of the sentences show that they were meant to be heard, not read." The literary worker has the solitary, silent, patient reader in his eye as he performs his task; but "the orator, as he prepares his speech, has visions of the great audience; he sees the upturned faces, he feels the answering throb, he hears the thunders of applause." The one writes for separate individual readers. To the orator "individuals are nothing. It is with numbers that he deals; with numbers warmed and quickened, if possible, by the genial sense of kinship which makes a thousand pulses beat like one."

To this class, both by temperament and cast of mind, Punshon emphatically belonged.

"It [the lecture] will be seen, however, on examination, to be constructed with consummate skill to secure immediate and telling result. Without delay, yet with no undue haste, the way into the subject is led by a few reflections on history, its pathetic and its noble aspects, and we are brought into the seventeenth century, and into the presence of John Bunyan. There is no attempt to invest the familiar and the commonplace with sham dignity, but they are not allowed to drag, or spoil the procession of the sentences. Where the narrative is at its least heroic level, it is still bright, swift-moving, attractive, the sentences neither involved nor abrupt, always intelligible, often revealing an unexpected felicity of phrase or epithet, or harmonious balance of clauses.

"Sometimes by rapid change of key, more frequently by gradual elevation, the change is made to a loftier and more impassioned strain. It is in these ascents, whether rising only to half-way heights, or sweeping upwards to some supreme climax, that Punshon was most himself, that the characteristics of his style and method found intensest expression.

"These climaxes can be traced in most of his sermons and lectures. The calmest reader will find himself drawn into a current whose speed continually increases; there is a movement of quickened thought and heightened feeling that hurries him along; the language grows bolder, more impassioned, more pathetic, until at last it culminates in some paragraph whose subtle modulations 'long drawn out' leave music in the ear, and emotion in the heart" (pp. 118, 119).

In another passage the biographer approaches "the secret of the spell" still more closely:

"His memory carried lightly and easily the burden of his longest oration. There was no hesitation, no effort to recollect, but a free, joyous, 'full-throated ease' of utterance, a manifest mastery of his task that told at once upon the audience. In the opening sentences, which were almost invariably short and terse, there was a certain harshness of voice that grated on the ear, and yet, by its incisiveness, compelled attention and awakened expectation. As he proceeded the harshness passed away, the tones grew clear and mellow, and the voice, naturally vibrant and penetrating, disclosed unexpected range and modulation, from the whisper that three thousand people heard in breathless silence, to the exultant shout that was echoed by irrepressible applause. His elocutionary power was consummate. Though not otherwise musically gifted, his feeling for the melody of words, and the larger harmony of sentences, was instinctive and well-nigh unerring. Not a syllable was slurred or slighted. Not an intonation was wanting that could give expression to his meaning, or add

a beauty to tender or to stately language. There was a rhythmic beat in his tones that wrought upon the ear like a spell" (pp. 121, 122).

This last sentence suggests, more than any other, "the secret of the spell." When, as representative of the Canadian Conference, he addressed the great meeting in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, our own attention was directed to his manner in a special degree. And the outcome of our thoughts and speculations as we listened was, "This is rhythm itself." Not only "the beat of his sentences," but every gesture, look, and movement went on in exquisite harmony. He moved his arms as if he were beating time to music, the swells and cadences of his voice the while were enchanting; and impetuous as was the "rush" of his delivery every now and then, it was in harmony with all the rest. We thought of Thomas Miller's lines in his "Address to the Skylark":—

"Ethereal songster, soaring merrily,
Thy wings keep time to thy rich music's flow,
Rolling along the sky celestially,
And echoing o'er the hill's wood-waving brow."

His biographer refers to his remarkable use of emphasis. He always accentuated "the master word" just as it should be accentuated. Sometimes the emphasis was conveyed by a sudden and impressive lowering of the voice, even to a whisper, and sometimes by a mighty and sonorous elevation of it. "In this particular power, this touch electric by which a single word was made to discharge the passion or the pathos of an entire paragraph, Mr. Punshon stood alone among the public speakers of the day."

Shall we discuss the modern habit of "lecturing" by Christian ministers? No doubt Punshon's example had much to do with its creation. Undoubtedly, the primary business of the minister is to "preach the gospel;" and we cannot but censure the men who substitute for this the delivery of lectures on all manner of subjects, even such as are foreign to their calling. But Punshon was not open to any such censure. The great deliverances to which he gave the name of "lectures" were, for the most part, sermons in fact if not in form, sermons of a very high order. It is manifest, even on a superficial perusal, that he never allowed the preacher to be lost in the lecturer;

that he was as faithful in dealing with men's consciences, and as earnestly striving to bring them into living contact with Jesus the Saviour, on the platform as when in the pulpit. And the platform allowed him greater freedom of treatment than, with his views of ministerial responsibility, he could have indulged in the pulpit; while as a lecturer he gained access to a class of people who might have objected to hear the very same things uttered from the pulpit. He himself set the greatest possible store by the pulpit. We remember how, on one occasion, speaking on the platform, he pointed to the pulpit, and cried out, with flashing eye and ringing voice, "That, sir, is my *throne*," and thereupon broke forth into a passionate and eloquent declamation on the peerless glory of the pulpit, and the more than imperial power of the preacher of "Jesus Christ and Him crucified."

His generosity and public spirit shone forth in the use which he made of his oratorical gifts. Our space does not allow of more than a mere allusion to his efforts for the extinction of the debt on Old Spitalfields Chapel, and for the creation of the fund for erecting chapels in watering places. In the former case, he accomplished his design, handing over £1,000 or more to the trustees; and in the latter case, with incredible zeal, labour, and perseverance, he raised the magnificent sum of £10,000! And throughout his whole career, the same generosity and the same consecration of himself, in or out of the pulpit, to the great objects of his high calling as a minister of Christ Jesus, were conspicuous. It is sad to know, at the same time, at how heavy a cost he did his prodigious work as a public speaker, in the all but complete break-down for awhile of his nervous system, and the too frequent endurance of physical and mental suffering that often chequered his life, during his later years, on occasion of his public efforts, with accesses of unspeakable nervous agony.

He was stationed at Bayswater from 1858 to 1861. That circuit was in a manner carved out for him from the Hinde Street circuit, and his position was altogether peculiar and exceptional; so much so, indeed, as to awaken the utmost anxiety and concern amongst many of his brethren. They feared that the itinerancy from circuit to circuit "might be

imperilled, and, generally speaking, everything that is established and settled be put in jeopardy." A resolution expressed in general terms, was introduced in the Manchester Conference of 1859, in a speech of considerable ingenuity and force, by the Rev. Samuel Romilly Hall. The discussion is elaborately recited in the Memoir, but we cannot follow it; nor is it possible to abridge it within any reasonable compass. The arrangement made was eloquently defended by Mr. Arthur, and other promoters of what was really a scheme for the extension of Methodism in the West of London. The Rev. George Browne Macdonald, the father of Mr. Punshon's biographer, replied upon the whole case in a masterly address; and it was finally determined to leave matters as they were.

In the early days of the previous October he had been called to endure the greatest calamity of his life; namely, the death, after long and lingering years of illness, of his devoted wife. It is impossible to read the record of this part of the story without deep emotion. No doubt he found present relief in his incessant and various toil; and that relief was further heightened by the beneficent effect of foreign travel. To this latter expedient he had frequent resort during subsequent years; and some of the most delightful portions of the volume are occupied with extracts from a *Journal of Travel*, in which, from time to time, he described with a master's hand the beauties of physical nature spread out before him, and the works and ways of the different peoples with whom he was brought into contact.

In 1867 occurred the important event which gave so new and critical a turn to Morley Punshon's life. At the Conference of that year an application was read from the Conference of the Wesleyan Church in Canada to the following effect:

"We believe that we should be much assisted in these great purposes [of consolidation and evangelizing aggression] by the example, sympathies, and labours of one of the most approved members of your own body; and we therefore venture to suggest and solicit your appointment of the Rev. William Morley Punshon as our next President, with the request that he may be permitted to travel through our Connexion the current year; believing, as we do, that his counsels and administrations will, under the Divine blessing, greatly edify us and our people, immensely benefit our entire Church and country, and contribute largely to consolidate

into one mighty community, Methodism throughout British North America" (p. 279).

This was felt to be a very serious and important matter; and a strong committee was appointed to consider and report upon the application. The case was complicated by the generally known fact that Mr. Punshon himself was "contemplating a step that would profoundly affect his personal and domestic life." He himself says, in his journal, under date of November 24, 1866: "Strong and grave perplexities have risen up around me, and I am trying to know my duty, and then to be strengthened at all hazards to do it." Subsequently, he writes to the effect that he had informed the President and the Committee in question that

"I deemed it my duty to marry Fanny Vickers, who has been for nine years the mother to my children, the only mother, indeed, whom two have ever known. I detailed my motives and reasons to Mr. Arthur, in a letter which he comforted me by saying was 'worthy of me, and of the grace of God in me.' In the fulfilment of this duty I had to make great sacrifices, to consent to be misjudged, to grieve some whom I loved, to lay my account with a publicity given to my private affairs which is to me the heaviest cross of the kind that I could be called to bear, to lose a position which had become assured to me by years of service, to trample upon love of country (with me a passion), to break up old friendships, to bear the imputation of motives which my soul scorns, and to bear it without an answer, to form a home in a new world, and above all to imperil my usefulness. Yet my convictions of duty have never wavered" (p. 282).

The Committee, looking at all the facts of the case, reported in favour of the application of the Canadian Conference, and on August 1, 1867, he writes: "My destiny decided; designated President of Canada Conference, and Representative to America." It is needless, and would not be becoming, for us to enlarge upon the private and personal element in this business. Mr. Punshon acted with perfect sincerity and conscientious conviction. He had examined the law forbidding marriage with the sister of a deceased wife long before he had any thought of being personally involved in its application; and had completely satisfied himself that it was "iniquitous and oppressive;" and now that events had opened his way to fulfil alike his wishes and his duty, "without entailing em-

barrassment on the British Conference," he thankfully, and with the fullest conviction that he was doing right, embraced the opportunity. He was married to Miss Vickers by the venerable Dr. Egerton Ryerson; Drs. Anson Green and Lachlan Taylor being his sureties. These honoured names sufficiently show that neither law nor public prejudice in Canada stood in any degree in his way; and he settled down "to domestic happiness, and the rest and comfort of home."

His last public appearance in England, before leaving for Canada, was at Exeter Hall, where he delivered his lecture on "Florence and its Memories." His oratorical triumph was perhaps greater than any previous one. On the 6th of April, 1867, he was entertained at a farewell breakfast by a large number of his friends, and presented with an address, a silver salver, and a cheque for seven hundred guineas.

Thus did his friends send him forth, encompassed with their love, and followed by their prayers, as with calm and steadfast mind he faced the unknown future, and went forth to find a vocation and a home beyond the sea" (p. 291).

On the 14th of the same month he and his eldest son embarked at Liverpool for New York. His active connection with the British Conference was thus suspended for a time; and we turn to the account of his sojourn in Canada, written by his son-in-law, Professor Reynar.

On the day of his landing at New York he attended a week-evening service at St. Paul's Methodist Episcopal Church in that city, and was much edified by a pointed lecture, and a prayer-meeting, which resolved itself into a band-meeting. The experience related had "the good, sound, Methodist ring about it." The next day, attending the dedication service of a new Methodist Church at Williamsburg, he found that the minister appointed had been taken suddenly ill; and he was constrained to yield to entreaty, and so opened his "commission in America in the empire city." He was startled on being told that the church had cost about £40,000, thinking with regret that "five less expensive churches might have been built with the money." This notion, however, he soon concluded to have arisen from insular ignorance and narrowness; and his

biographer shows that our American brethren have much reason on their side when they build these magnificent and expensive churches. Certainly, Punshon himself came to that conclusion, as he afterwards showed by the active and energetic part which he took in the erection of the Metropolitan Church in Toronto—"the most imposing church in a city that is sometimes called the City of Churches."

The general Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church was held in Chicago, and Mr. Punshon attended it as the accredited representative of the British Wesleyan Conference. He was introduced to the assembly by Bishop Janes (from this time his close and constant friend), and

"was greeted with enthusiastic and long-continued applause. His address produced a profound impression. It is remembered and quoted to the present day. The speaker showed, of course, that he understood the people and the matters that he was to represent, but what surprised and won his hearers was the discovery that he understood them also, and entered with a rare and generous sympathy into their own thoughts and feelings" (p. 302).

Then came a visit to a camp-meeting, which Punshon describes with infinite relish, delight, and freshness, and of which he says :

"I feel that I shall treasure the memory of this visit for the maintenance of my own faith in times of depression and of doubt. I believe more firmly than ever that there needs but the one gospel for the 'one blood' of 'all nations of men,' and I thank God for this deepening conviction wrought by the sight of true missionary work on true missionary ground" (p. 309).

The first Canadian Conference after his arrival assembled in Kingston, on June, 1868. He presided by appointment of the British Conference, and occupied the chair in the four subsequent Conferences—the first three by election of the Canadian Conference, upon whom the privilege of choosing their own President had been conferred. On the fifth occasion, the British Conference exercised its own right, accompanying the act by an intimation that his return to England was desired and expected in the course of the subsequent year. On the first occasion curiosity was, of course, very lively. Would the accomplished orator prove himself a good man of

business and a skilful administrator? Such a combination is not very common; but Dr. Osborn, when he had nominated him for election into the Legal Hundred, had spoken with graceful emphasis of the eminently practical and business-like qualities of his nominee. Now was the finest opportunity that had yet occurred of putting the matter to a test; and it was noted with satisfaction and thankfulness that he "completely satisfied all expectations and won all hearts." His good-nature, courtesy, and impartiality were uniform and perfect; and he "seemed to see at once the bearings and relations of every matter that came up, and to be specially gifted with an intuition of the brethren's names." It needs not be said that his public utterances delighted everybody.

His marriage with Miss Vickers was celebrated on the 4th of August in the same year. Of the home thus re-constituted, Professor Reynar says:

"What rest and comfort and happiness were in that home can never be forgotten by those who knew it. Its memory lingers like the memory of summer. Such a home had been the undoing of some men—of men who would have turned its rest into ease, and its comfort into indulgence; but he never ceased to be 'in labours more abundant and in journeyings often.' The comforts and joys of home were not suffered to hinder but were made to help him in the Master's service" (pp. 315, 316).

Of his work in Canada very much might be said. From an early period he headed the movement for the extension of church accommodation, and the improvement of church architecture. At the lowest estimate one new church for every Lord's-day in the year was built and dedicated during his term of office. The Church made the freest use of the permission given him to "travel at large" within her territory; and he fulfilled her wishes in a degree almost beyond his strength.

He was much occupied with the project of the "Union of the different branches of the Methodist Church." That was not actually accomplished until a year after his return to England; but he was actively engaged in the preliminary negotiations. Since 1883 the Wesleyan Methodist Church of Canada, the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist New Connexion Conference, the Wesleyan Conference of Eastern

British America, the Bible Christian Church, and the Primitive Methodist Church have formed one united and homogeneous Methodist body, with ten Conferences, 1,628 ministers, "and a spiritual charge of some 800,000 souls—the largest Protestant Church in the Dominion." To our honoured friend also was mainly due the establishment of the Mission to Japan. His services to Victoria College, which subsequently honoured itself by presenting him with the degree of LL.D., were also very active and valuable. It was chiefly by his efforts that large and liberal voluntary endowments were provided for the college in lieu of grants formerly obtained from the Provincial Treasury. The Canadian estimate of his work is expressed in the following little dialogue between Sir William McArthur and Mr. John Macdonald, a distinguished merchant and citizen, of Toronto:

"*Sir William*: What did Mr. Punshon do for you when he was out here?

"*Mr. Macdonald*: Do for us? Why, he pushed us on half a century" (p. 335).

Suddenly, as if a thunderbolt had fallen from the clear blue, his home was darkened and bereft. After a very few hours' illness Mrs. Punshon died, and so the desire of his eyes was taken from him at a stroke. He cried out: "I am bereft . . . I am bereft . . . stricken from the height of happiness and hope to the depth of a darkness which only God can enlighten, which only God can enable me to bear." But he was "saved from the shadow of one rebellious thought," and once again experienced the blessed ministry of incessant travel and labour. We cannot follow him in his account of this period, with its enormous journeys and prodigious toils. But we must make some special reference to the episode of his visit to England, as representative from the Canadian to the British Conference, in 1871. That Conference met in Manchester, under the presidency of Dr. James. He had been a member of the Special Committee on the appointment of Mr. Punshon to Canada, and had deeply sympathized with his friend's sorrows and anxieties at that time. Such was the interest created by Mr. Punshon's visit to the Conference, that the Open Session was held in the Free Trade Hall instead of

the Conference Chapel. The vast edifice was crowded to its utmost capacity, and rose to welcome the Canadian representative with enthusiastic cheers as soon as he appeared on the platform. When he was formally introduced, the President, evidently very much moved, grasped his hand, and held and shook it again and again, amid a scene of wild enthusiasm. When the storm of cheers abated, the President said :

"Every heart in this assembly goes with that cheer. We have watched your career in the great and glorious country to which your path has been directed. We rejoice and give thanks to God for the honour which He has put upon you, and the work He has enabled you to do. We see you again amongst us with thankfulness to Him, and with feelings of unspeakable affection towards yourself. We have never lost sight of you (cheers), never forgotten you (renewed cheers). You have been one of ourselves. Your name has been called over every year as a member of this Conference since you left us. Your name has been called over to-day. I rejoice that it will appear in the record of this year as present in our deliberations; and on your own account, I greet you in the name of the Lord, and on account of that noble Church at the head of which it has pleased Him to place you during the last three years" (pp. 361, 362).

Mr. Punshon's address in reply was "distinguished, as usual, by its comprehensive range of topics and skilful arrangements, and by the beauty and force of thought and language which it displayed." It was distinguished, also, by a statesmanlike grasp of thought and by a breadth of view which were recognized as constituting a distinct development of faculty and power. Not fewer than five thousand persons listened to it, and responded to point after point with increasing enthusiasm. The *Methodist Recorder* said :

"It would be difficult to analyze and define delicately the feeling of the vast mass of people who rose to greet him with shouts and waving of hats, handkerchiefs, umbrellas, and all movable things. But I shall not be far wrong when I surmise that the predominant emotion was deep personal affection, sympathy with his great services past, and joy at his return. English Methodists have kept his place vacant in their hearts" (p. 363).

This wonderful reception was repeated wherever he appeared in England, and it was soon seen that "it was the call of the Church to her son, and to him it was the call of God." It was therefore settled that he should return in 1873

to the work of the mother Church in England. He returned to Canada, and the story of his twenty remaining months in that colony is told chiefly by extracts from his letters and journal. After displaying consummate administrative powers, and conferring great and lasting benefits on Canadian Methodism, he sailed from Quebec on May 24, and landed in Liverpool on June 3, 1873. So ended the second period of his public career. He had acquired a vast and varied fund of knowledge and experience, of which the Connexion at home was to reap the benefit for a period, to our seeming, lamentably short, and prematurely closed just when his highest gifts were both most needed and most conspicuous.

It was not without much regret that he gave up his sphere of labour in Canada, nor without serious misgivings, especially on the ground of his health, that he looked forward to the resumption of "circuit work;" but he cheerfully accepted the appointment to Kensington, especially as the Conference granted him an assistant. The prospect seemed "forlorn enough, so far as the Society was concerned." There were only eighty-three members, and not more than seven pews were let in Warwick Gardens Chapel; but he set himself bravely "to mould a congregation and to build up a church." His state of health only allowed him to preach once on the Sunday, and in many other ways "the quantity, if not the quality," of the work he could do was much abated; but with the help of his able and laborious assistant, he worked steadily and successfully on. The Society increased in numbers quarter by quarter, and so did the congregation week by week. Just before Conference he had been married to Miss Foster, of Sheffield, the estimable lady who survives him, and had been the intimate friend of both "the dead" to whose place she succeeded. His only daughter, wife of Professor Rayner, who had long been in declining health, died just a month after this marriage. His touching comment on the occasion was: "The Lord will not suffer me to set my affections on the earth, but warns me by repeated chastenings."

He had been appointed Chairman of the Second London District, comprising many circuits in what was called "the Methodist wilderness." He describes himself as holding

quarterly meetings by troops; and there is no doubt that he performed a large amount of work, though he strictly confined himself to a "simple service on a single day." He was looking forward, not without anxiety, to the Conference of 1874. There was talk of his election to the chair; and he seems to have felt "some lingering result of the pain he had received from certain comments made upon his marriage and settlement in Canada." He need not have been anxious, however; for the Conference chose him as its President by a very large majority, his friend Gervase Smith, to his great delight, being re-elected Secretary. The Conference, though uneventful, was high-toned and happy. His immediate associates, too, were most congenial spirits. Morley Punshon, Gervase Smith, William W. Stamp, John H. James, Luke H. Wiseman, George T. Perks—all but one of whom have passed away—asssembled together as the guests of W. Bickford-Smith, Esq., made a noteworthy party.

Six months afterwards the Connexion was plunged into universal mourning by the sudden death of the much-loved and highly-gifted Missionary Secretary, the Rev. Luke H. Wiseman. Dr. Punshon felt this bereavement acutely. He was subsequently appointed to fill Mr. Wiseman's place at the Mission House. The whole Connexion turned instinctively to him as possessing conspicuous qualifications for the post, and he thankfully accepted it as an especially congenial employment. It was, indeed, as his biographer says, "the fitting climax of his life's work." It brought him many anxieties, especially in regard to the financial condition and prospects of the Society; and these anxieties went far to complete that undermining of his fine constitution which had already been for some years in progress. The chief event, however, in these last years of his life was the introduction of lay representation into the Conference. The question had been for some time in quiet agitation. Dr. Punshon took a prominent part in the preliminary discussions of Connexional Committees, and in the preparation of the measure which was introduced as to its principle at the Nottingham Conference of 1875. In its constitutional bearings it was by far the most momentous question that had arisen in the development of Methodism for

a long period, perhaps since the execution of Wesley's Deed of Declaration in 1784. Four days were spent upon the discussion of it at Nottingham. Dr. Pope, who was not present, sent "a carefully written essay" against the proposed change, which was read. "Mr. Arthur, who was present, but unequal to the effort of speaking, placed a written speech," advocating the proposal, "in the hands of Mr. T. B. Stephenson, and stood by his side through the three-quarters of an hour that it occupied in reading." Dr. Punshon had offered a resolution in favour of the measure, but reserved his chief effort for the reply at the close of the discussion. Drs. Rigg, James, and Gregory, and Messrs. Bate, Perks, and Olver spoke in its favour; Dr. Jobson, Messrs. G. C. Harvard, Posnett, R. Roberts, and J. R. Hargreaves, and above all Dr. Osborn, spoke powerfully against it.

Dr. Punshon replied upon the whole case. He had spent nearly the whole of the intervening night in prayerful and anxious preparation for the task before him. He acquitted himself nobly in "a well-ordered and masterly speech."

"The resolution was carried by 369 votes to 49, a majority of 320," and in the following year "the first representative Conference met in Bradford under the presidency of Dr. Rigg. There was no shock, no strain; the conversation on the work of God, in which the laymen took part, was one of the most blessed seasons ever known; and the climax of spiritual feeling was attained under the remarkable and glorious address of Dr. Osborn himself."

The few years spent at the Mission house by Dr. Punshon were filled with labour, and, as we have seen, with heavy and wearing anxieties. His old companions "in the kingdom and patience" of the Lord Jesus fell thick and fast around him, and physical infirmities told upon him more and more. Not even his friends, however, suspected how fast he was wearing out. But the end drew near. In 1881 his eldest son died at Bournemouth, in the faith and hope of the Gospel, and his heart was grievously stricken. He preached at Blackheath on Sunday, Jan. 16, on Abraham's offering up of Isaac. In February he was engaged to preach at Walsall, and arrived in due time, intending to do so. He was taken alarmingly ill

at the house of his friend, Mr. Brewer, on the night of his arrival, and was unable to take the pulpit, which was occupied by the Rev. Richard Roberts. That sermon at Blackheath was the last he was permitted to preach. The more alarming symptoms of the attack at Walsall passed away; but his work was really done. In March he visited the Continent once more, in company with his wife and his son Percy, and two or three other friends. He was again taken suddenly ill at Genoa in March, and was with great difficulty and by easy stages brought home to die. On the 13th of April "the latest passion" set in, and he died early in the morning of the 14th, just after exclaiming: "*Christ is to me a bright reality. Jesus! Jesus!*" "There was a smile, as of kindling rapture, and William Morley Punshon entered into rest."

The later pages of this record are filled with extracts from critiques and letters of various kinds; and there are special letters, addressed to his widow and others, from Mr. Spurgeon, Mr. Newman Hall, Dr. Allon, Dr. Donald Fraser, Mr. Hargreaves, a very aged ministerial friend, since deceased, and Dr. Rigg. The last of these is noteworthy as coming from a brother minister, of the same standing, who was a representative contemporary of Dr. Punshon's, and who had been closely associated with him in very much public work. His testimony is the only one of the kind that is given; and we therefore close our paper by quoting it in full. It was addressed to Mrs. Punshon:

"There was no one in Methodism with whom I so much desired and rejoiced to cultivate friendship as your noble husband; not only because he was so pre-eminent a man for ability, and fame, and influence, but because he was so true and faithful, so perfectly sweet-tempered and fine-toned a man. It was one of the hopes, and I might almost say dreams, of my life that, as years passed on, we might become more and more intimate and united. I believe he knew how much I honoured and how abundantly I trusted him. With all my hopes for the future welfare and best development of Methodism, thoughts of him and of his influence and character were inseparably combined. And now his removal leaves me so much poorer in life, and hope, and friendship, as, alas! it leaves our bereaved Methodism strangely and sadly poorer, and indeed makes a sorrowful gap in the evangelical array and brotherhood of our country.

"How much Dr. Punshon lived in the affection of his brethren is known

to all. Perhaps the chief reason of this was that he was so absolutely free himself from all envy, so guiltless of detraction. Those who are pre-eminent for gifts seldom escape the breath of envy. If he seemed to escape, it was very much, I think, because his own nature appeared to be innocent of envy towards others, as his tongue was ever kept pure from the taint of malice or calumny. He was loved for his nobility not less than he was admired for his greatness.

"To me the memory of my too limited intercourse with him will always be precious, and the hope of reunion with him will make what remains to me of life more sacred, and touch it with a tenderer light" (p. 513).

ART. V.—THE COINS AND MEDALS OF THE ALLAN
LIBRARY.

COINS and medals are of supreme value as records of the historic past. More durable than books, they are often the only witnesses that are left of times of which all written testimony has perished. In portraiture they stand unrivalled even by the work of the mason and the wood-engraver, and their contribution to the history of art and ethics, industry and social life, is a solid one. For this reason the unique collection of books bequeathed to the Wesleyan Methodist Connexion by the late Mr. Allan is fitly associated with a select series of coins and medals.*

The collection comprises 110 pieces, of which 59 are coins and 51 medals; 47 are composed of silver, 62 of bronze and the baser metals, and 1 is photographic. There is none in gold. Of the coins, 1 is of Greek design, 23 are Roman, 9 Byzantine, 5 German, 19 English, and 2 French. The medals consist of a good series of 28 Papal pieces, supplemented by 13 representing the eventful story of Continental Reformation. The rest include 4 English medals and 6 of a miscellaneous character. The whole collection ranges in date over a period of 2,000 years—from the end of the third pre-Christian century to the beginning of our own.

* See LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, October 1885, for an account of this Library.

Of all coins ever produced since the world began, the richest in historic interest and suggestion, if not indeed the widest in extent, are those which during seven centuries were struck in the mints of the old Greek world. Of these there is in the Allan collection one example only, and even this is not representative of the coinage of Greece proper. It is a bronze coin of the third Ptolemy, that Euergetes whose firm prudence at the head of post-Alexandrine affairs in the Levant was so miserably rewarded by a violent death at the hand of his son. The curly beard and hair suggest that deification which was claimed by the Ptolemies as the right of the living, and not a mere act of respect to the dead. The device on the reverse—an eagle holding a thunderbolt—is expressive of the alien origin of the Ptolemaic rulers of Egypt.

When the visitor passes to the larger series of pieces of Imperial Rome, he is brought face to face with coin-lessons of wide import. All are imperial, except one belonging to a warrior-architect, and one to an empress. To be able to read at a glance, in the faces of seventeen emperors, the diversity of temperament which in so large a measure made the history of the empire, is no small gain to the student. More is to be learned from a comparison of the bloated features of Nero, or the sensual chin of Agrippa, the hero of Actium and the builder of the Pantheon, with the stolid weariness of Valentinian's aspect, or the royal resoluteness of Vespasian's, than from the most brilliant word-pictures of Mommsen or Niebuhr. All these coins are in base metal, as distinguished from gold and silver. The almost universal beardlessness of the Cæsars, varied here and there with such stubby chins as that of the mailed warrior Maximian, bespeaks their soldierly ways, just as the flowing beards on many of the Papal medals, to be noticed hereafter, witness to the peacefulness of personal habit which is a mark of the spiritual ruler. Such busts as that of the younger Faustina, the shameless wife of the gentle Marcus Aurelius, are useful, especially when examined in a fuller series, for their hints as to early methods of hair-dressing and the like; and of no less utility is the iron helmet of the great Constantine, or the buckled toga of Constans, his second son. Of equal interest are the reverses, which are illustrative in their turn of the mythology and architecture, the epigraphy and

law, of Imperial Rome. Thus, on the coins of Augustus which were struck by his successor, Tiberius, mindful of the integrity of the constitution, puts this inscription, *consensu senat. et eq. ordin.* (by consent of the senate and of the knightly order), although he is careful to glorify his stepfather with the epithet *Divus*. The ascription of the title *Victor* to Nero is perhaps as misplaced as the confident belief shown by Valentinian in the *Securitas Reipublicae*, when that republic, as a united empire, was on the verge of being broken up for ever. The Italian facsimile of a coin of Vespasian at least shows a view of the Coliseum, while both the second Constantine and the second Constans engrave architectural plans on their money. It is of value to trace the development of the letters of the alphabet, so far as the coins are helpful, as where a reverse-inscription of Constantius I. presents examples of both the Latin and the Greek E. The early growth of allegory is marked by the winged goddess on a Constantine, and by the draped Fortuna, with her horn of plenty, on a Domitian. The gravest lessons to be drawn from this Roman coinage are the might and right of the first empire of the Christian era—a might exemplified abundantly by devices of eagles, thunderbolts, and mailed warriors; a right no less firmly claimed by many a figure of Justice holding forth an even balance. Yet, as if to mock these claims, the noisiest inscriptions are associated with the weakest rulers.

The supreme beauty of the work of the pre-Christian coin-artists of Greece was but indifferently imitated in the rough-and-ready mints of Imperial Italy. These had ever before them the needs of a complex trade, rather than the superlative claims of the engraver's art. But even the coins of these, in their realism, were in a sense artistic, to a high degree, in comparison with the conventional work of the Byzantine Emperors, of which nine examples, all in bronze, are shown. From three of them some notion of the features of Justinian may be formed, although in their workmanship the beginning of decay is already to be seen. But Mauricius and the second Romanus appear before us in the guise of dotted caricatures, such as one would ridicule even if wrought by the untrained pencil of a child. Indeed, the reality of the united empire began to degenerate with swift strides when once it was divided,

and in the place of lawmakers and brilliant soldiers stood law-compilers and profound schoolmen. Yet even the coins of these are not without their teaching, and one has no doubt of the origin of the later symbolism, and even mysticism, which filled all the Christendom of the Middle Age, when one perceives on one specimen Justinian uplifting a Cross, and on another the city of Nicomedia expressing its name in the form of an anagram.

But if it is not to the Bosphorus that one looks for the best examples of numismatic art, it cannot be denied that the wide commerce of Byzantium, enshrined in the fact that the most popular coin of its age was the bezant, exerted a potent influence at once on the commerce and on the coinage of its fast-growing rival in the Western sea. There are no specimens of early work in the English series of nineteen silver pieces in the Allan collection, and so any words on the pre-Reformation story of England would here be out of place. But when the series begins, we derive from the very first illustrations of history, as where upon the shield engraved on a reverse of the eighth Henry is quartered the fleur-de-lis, emblem of France, whose possession was claimed consecutively by the coins of all sovereigns down to George III. at least. The features of the young beardless Henry on the well-worn groat—through how many craftsmen's and 'prentice fingers must it have passed?—may almost be traced in the face of his great daughter. Even as early as 1562 Elizabeth's befrilled vanity was but the transparent hiding-place of imperious strength, drawn from a practical belief in God, whose kingdom she recognized even on her six-pences, in the words *adjutorem meum posui Deum* ("my help cometh even from the Lord"). The "Ebor" half-crown of Charles I., with its equestrian figure, sword in hand, and its confession *Auspice regno Christo*, has a place in history. And no less renowned is that ten-shilling piece which the same monarch struck from plate seized from the colleges, with its note of triumph and assumption, *Exsurgat Deus inimici dissipentur*—the "Let God arise, let His enemies be scattered," of the shepherd-king. This is associated with a legend which must have led to much discussion in Roundhead circles in 1642—*Relig. Prot. Leg. Ang. Liber. Parl.* (Protector of the

Religion and Laws of England, and of the Liberties of Parliament). The main interest of the Commonwealth shilling of 1655 lies in the fact that the Latin tongue—perhaps as being in the eyes of the time a Popish superstition—is discarded, and the designer honestly surrounds the heraldic shield with the legend “The Commonwealth of England,” while the reverse bears the inscription “God with us.” The 1679 sixpence of the second Charles originates that square heraldic cross with which the Victorian florin has familiarized this generation; and the 1686 groat of the second James, besides presenting, like the other, a well-executed bust of the monarch, may be noted as making, with the IIII on its obverse, the only descent to instruction in their value which is made by any of the Stuart coins.

The early Hanoverian coinage is more or less familiar to all. There are two florins of Anne, one of them with the word *vigo*, referring to the capture of Spanish galleons made in Vigo Bay in 1702. A similar incident is associated with the LIMA half-crown of George II., dated 1746, which, if Pollet be credible, is probably part of the silver spoil captured by the privateers, *Prince Frederic* and *Duke*. This coin is further noticeable as marking the first introduction of milled edges, which ingenious preventive of clipping is scarcely a century and a half old. The 1757-8 sixpences of the same reign, unlike those of our own time, are milled obliquely; while thirty years later, in 1787, George III. notched his shillings with prominent oblique serratures—an unpleasing device which is happily out-dated. The heraldic cross of the early sovereigns of this dynasty was replaced, both on the shillings and on the sixpences of George III., in that terrible year just named, by a device in which the four arms of the cross were sundered, and the Garter star implanted in their midst. The profound lesson of this whole coinage is the deference paid to heraldic integrity on the one hand, and the claim of wide empire on the other.

The interest of the coins still to be described is not great. There is a twelfth-century specimen of the bracteate or plated coinage of Germany, the so-called “parsons’ pennies,” which arose amongst the Romish clergy in the years that followed

the death of Charlemagne, and grew more and more debased as their greed flourished year by year. The present specimen, as its late date would lead one to expect, is carried to the last verge of thinness. The sturdy thalers of past centuries are represented by one coined by the Bishop of Halberstadt, who, in his own language, declared, *Gottes freundt der Pfaffen feindt*—freely, “He loves the things of God and despises those of priests.” Another is interesting as having been struck at Luther’s birthplace, Eisleben, and bears a three-quarter face of the Reformer, with a characteristic landscape of the town on the reverse, full of pigeon-lofts, churches, and trees. The inscription is—

“Gotteswort u. Lutherslehr
Vergeht nun u. nimmermehr;”

which is, being interpreted,

“God’s word and Luther’s lore
Shall not fade for evermore.”

The Bremen silver coinage of the middle of the last century, as two specimens show, was so badly alloyed that it has invariably lost its colour. The two French coins are of no special interest, except for a comparison which they afford with certain English ones. The inscription on the Louis XV. is in Latin, and includes the words, *Sit nomen Domini benedictum* (the name of the Lord be praised). In its use of Latin and of Scripture it resembles the Stuart pieces, just as the demi-franc of Napoleon, with its *République Française*, resembles the English inscriptions of Cromwell. This only difference there is, that Cromwell had a firm faith in God, and said so on his coins, while Buonaparte’s atheism is well displayed even on the surface of his money.

While coins, unpremeditated as they are in general, are of more genuine historic value than medals, yet these are not without their instruction. The Allan collection contains a fine series of medals struck by the Popes of Rome, from John XX., who preceded in time the first William of England, down to the Pio Nono of our own generation. These are of supreme interest for their admirable portraits, and also for the Scriptural quotations wherewith the successors of St. Peter endeavoured to

sanctify their rule. A MS. book is extant, containing Mr. Allan's own notes on the collection, and in this are entered references to the chapters in which the quotations are to be found. Thus in the very first of them, which is really a cast, two modern-looking keys, with wards of significant intricacy, do duty for *celorum claves regni* (St. Matt. xvi. 19). A century later Alexander III. introduced into the inscription the words, *S. Petrus*, and with the keys associated an ideal bust of that apostle. The next in the series is a specimen of the famous *bullæ*, or leaden seals which were attached to Papal edicts, whence arose their name of "bulls." It bears appropriate busts of St. Peter and St. Paul. Paul II., in the fifteenth century, whose fat sensuous face is a perennial proof of the verdict of history as to his luxurious manner of life, drew a picture of sheep being fed by bright spirits, using the legend *pabulum salutis* (the bread of life). In the early years of the Tudors the second Julius caused, in commemoration of his military feats, soldiers to be drawn, trampled under foot of horsemen, and with cynical suggestiveness added the words of Acts ix. 5, "It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks." His successor was the renowned vendor of indulgences, Leo X., son of Lorenzo the Magnificent, and with fine irony his device is that of Plenty with her horn, and the words—in this case unwarranted by Scripture—*Liberalitas Pontificia* (the liberality of the Pope). The Paul III. of the Council of Trent makes the confession of St. Luke xix. 46, and the next of his name retorted on the growing spirit of opposition to the Holy See with a dream of a militant Catholicism, and *Roma resurgens*—a risen Rome. But the main charm of his medal lies in its workmanship. There is a full-length miniature, perhaps of St. Peter, inset in a panel in the collar of the pontifical robe. Eschewing, by way of contrast to this, the gorgeous raiment of the pontificate, Pius V. has himself engraved with a simple cape and skull-cap. The reverse, representative of the battle of Lepanto of 1571, contains a device of ships sailing off a tower-defended coast, and an angel resting on the waves. In the sky a divine figure is placed, and the inscription is *Dextera tua Dom. percussi inimicum*. Then there is a modern replica of the seal struck by Gregory XIII. to commemorate the

terrible St. Bartholomew Day in the following year. An angel with drawn sword—surely a fallen angel—is represented slaying men and women prostrate on the ground, while others are fleeing in terror. The original was struck in silver by Federigo Bonzagna. The next pontiff, the Sixtus who abetted the abortive Armada attack on the champion Protestantism of England, reverted to the crucial claim of the Romish See, putting on his medal a device of the basilica of St. Peter's, with the famous *super hanc petram*—"upon this rock"—of St. Matt. xvi. 18. Urban VII., who followed him, caused two full-length female figures, with interclasped hands, to be engraved on his medal, and the words of Ps. lxxxv. 10—"Mercy and truth have met together." Clement IX., the contemporary of the English Charles II., produced one with a pelican feeding four young in a nest, and another with the beautiful scene of Christ washing the disciples' feet. The Christ is haloed, the arms bared, stooping to Peter as he sits on a backless chair. The features are those of tradition. So minute has been the care of the artist that one sees the water in the act of falling from the feet into the basin. The inscription is from St. John xiii. 13-15: "I have given you an example." The next medal, one of Clement X., commemorates the battle of Choczim on the Dniester, in which John Sobieski fought, in 1673. The Pope is shown seated on his throne in full canonicals, receiving the crescent-flag of the Turks at the hands of the victorious Poles. A series of four medals of Innocent XI. furnish a curious satire one on another. One shows a personification of Charity, with four children; another, in reference to Ps. lxxxv. 11, has a seated figure of Justice with unsheathed sword and balance; a third, the most exquisite of all, the Charity that "seeketh not her own" giving suck to two babes. The fourth, the practical application of these excellent virtues, represents the Pope carried in procession in full state, seated on a throne borne by men, armed guards preceding. The inscription, the "clean hands and pure heart" of Ps. xxiv. 4, is, in its Latin dress, a play on the name Innocent. A medal of Alexander VIII. shows the Adoration of the Magi. Of two pieces of Innocent XII., one shows the scene in which St. Peter gives the benediction

of 1 Peter i. 2, the saints standing round at diminishing distances, producing a most admirable artistic effect. The other has a plan of the harbour of Porto d'Anzo, with ships riding at anchor within the breakwater, and the appropriate words of St. Matt. viii. 27. Clement XI's medal is a good piece of work, showing three male and one female figure in the clouds, a radiant dove above them, and the inscription *Inter sanctos illorum*, which Mr. Allan appropriately compared with the Wesley line, "a lot among the blest." Benedict XIV. repeated the subject in the later years of the century. The photograph of a medal struck by Clement XIV. to commemorate the suppression of the Jesuits is of historic interest, but the finest workmanship of all, as it is also the latest in date, is the ornate medal of the Pio Nono of modern history. Christ is represented ascending in the air, His head surrounded by a radiant halo of wonderful executive skill. The legend is from Rev. i. 8 : "And, behold, I am alive for evermore."

For us, however, this fine series pales in interest before the group of Reformer medals with which it is associated. Earliest in date, a piece commemorative of Huss shows the square cap and turned-down coat of historic Protestantism : "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church" is his confession, and on the reverse he is drawn, bound at the stake by neck, elbows and ankles. That was in 1415. No less admirable is the medal of Calvin, a century later, with its more peaceful scene of the sower : "God giveth the increase." The centenary of the Augsburg Confession of 1530 was commemorated by a medal, with the famous words "The name of the Lord is a strong tower;" and another, with a German inscription of no special interest. There are two Luther medals—one, with a three-quarter face, Reformer's gown and cap, and the Bible in the hand which had translated it. The reverse is mystical, with its cross resting on a heart. That was a famous verse of the Reformer's, "In quietness and in confidence shall be your strength." The other shows the head bare, and a brow wrinkled as with weariness of body. The reverse is thoroughly German in design. A cherub holds an open book with the words *Die Deutsche Bibel*; another, a smaller book, the *Catechismus*, and around all is the couplet—

"Dis doppelt Gut zu dancken dir
Durch Gottes Gnade haben wir;"

that is, literally,

"This double boon to thank thee
Through God's grace have we."

There is a medal in memory of the Austrian migration from Salzburg, in 1731, of those Lutherans who sought freedom of worship. Another was prepared during the centenary celebration of the Upsala Council of 1593, at which the Augsburg Confession was formally proclaimed, and the liturgy of Rome proscribed. The legend is merely descriptive. Lastly, the tercentenary medal of 1819, commemorating the entrance of Zwingli upon his pastorate at Zürich, presents a good bust of that Reformer.

The English medals are amongst those which are famous in history. There is a specimen of that which commemorated the return of Charles I. from Scotland in 1633, showing the mounted monarch, staff extended, trampling on the thistle. The reverse consists of a good view of old London, looking from the Southwark side: Old St. Paul's, with its square tower, London Bridge, overbuilt with the quaint houses of the Stuart time, even to the birds flying in the air, and the swans and row-boats on the water. Side by side with this are the "Parliament" medal of 1650, and the "Protector" medal of a few years later. The former kept in memory the victory at Dunbar on September 3, and contains the inscription—

WORD AT THE LORD OF HOSTS.
DUNBAR

In the field of the reverse is a view of the interior of Parliament in session, with the Speaker's chair, and the gangways duly drawn. The medal was the work of Symons, who was recommended for the purpose by Cromwell himself, in place of Nicholas Briott, in an extant letter dated from Edinburgh, and addressed to the Committee of the Army. He expressly desired that the obverse should bear a picture of the army:

"I may truly say it will be verie thankfully acknowledged by me if you will spare the having my effigies upon it."

But this request was disregarded. The "Protector" medal

is significant for its Latin inscriptions; and the suggestive maxim of *Pax queritur bello*. The other English medal is a cast of one struck in honour of the birth of the first Henry, and has for its reverse device an ornamented altar.

Amongst the remaining pieces, all of minor interest, there is a square silver shooting prize of John, Elector of Saxony in 1615. The motto appropriately is, "Christ the aim of my life," and the Latin inscription on the reverse is a pentameter line.

These brief illustrations will suffice to prove, if proof be needed, the worth of coin-study to the reader of history. Coins stand to the chronicler in the same relation as the atlas to the geographer, or the fossil-cabinet to the student of the remotest life of the earth. The courtesy which has been displayed by the authorities and officers of the library during the preparation of this account of one section of it will, we are convinced, be shown to any visitor who may desire to make of its treasures a personal examination.

ART. VI.—ATHANASIUS CONTRA MUNDUM.

Sancti Patris nostri Athanasii, Archiepiscopi Alexandrini opera omnia quæ extant. Opera et studio Monachorum ordinis S. Benedicti é congregatione Sancti Mauri. Parisiis. 1698.

ATHANASIUS is the Samson Agonistes of the fourth century. A sublimer scene than his struggle against Arianism the world has never gazed upon since St. Paul wrote of himself and his fellow-labourers: "We are made a spectacle unto the world and to angels and to men." Athanasius had no personal ends to serve. He was the Church's champion; he was the servant of the truth. Ecclesiastical councils, inspired by unquenchable hate for the man who withstood all their attempts to tamper with the creeds, condemned Athanasius on charges which they themselves had invented; Roman

emperors drove him into exile, friends failed him ; but, persecuted and forsaken, Athanasius stood firm. The storm often compelled him to flee for a season, but at the first fitting opportunity he was at his post again striking dismay into the hearts of all his adversaries. Hooker's tribute to this heroic persistency is one of the classic passages of our literature. In its Latin form it seems to have supplied the proverb which has summed up his history, "*Athanasius contra mundum.*" All panegyrists toil after Hooker in vain. We must allow the English Churchman to pronounce the crowning eulogium on the Alexandrian bishop.

The sublime heroism which fired the pen of Hooker was inspired by the grandest cause and controversy of the world's history. The Arian heresy struck at the vitals of Christianity. If Christ were a creature, as it taught, no matter how far He might be removed in dignity above all other creatures, He ceased to be the God-man, who alone could save the world. Some of the Arians paid high honour to Christ, but their error really sapped the foundations of devotion and of faith. Athanasius never lost sight of this issue. The "motive of his intense and lifelong battle against the Arian party was his instinctive sense and his clear conviction that the error set on foot by Arius, however disguised, struck at the root of that absolute devotion to the Saviour, which was the animating motive of his own life, and of the life of the Church." Metaphysical subtleties surround the controversy, but it was Arius and his followers who introduced them. The champion of Christian doctrine lifted the subject out of this region. He was able to follow all the mazes in which heresy involved the truth and make the vital issues clear even to the common people.

Few particulars of Athanasius' early life are preserved. It seems as if all such details had been overlooked in the absorbing interest of the Arian controversy. He was born A.D. 296, in that city of Alexandria whose most illustrious citizen he afterwards became. His parents were devout Christians. If credence is to be given to later writers, they were both noble and wealthy. Alexandria then took rank as the second city of the Roman world. Constantine had not yet founded his magnificent capital on the Hellespont. Only Rome and

Antioch could vie with the great Egyptian city. It was styled the second metropolis of the world, the Queen of the East. Six centuries and a quarter had passed since Alexander's eagle eye discerned the promise of that commanding situation. Before he hastened on his career of conquest, an army of workmen had taken possession of the spot. The city rose rapidly in wealth and power; it had a population of 300,000 freemen, and probably an equal number of slaves. Its lighthouse on the Isle of Pharos, one of the seven wonders of the world, guided the fleets of the Mediterranean into its spacious harbours.

Rufinus, the historian, has preserved an incident of the boyhood of Athanasius, which paved the way for his future influence. One day the Archbishop Alexander was entertaining his clergy. The place where they met was near the sea. Looking out on the western harbour, the Archbishop saw, to his surprise, a party of boys on the shore imitating some religious ceremonies. Watching them narrowly, he observed that they employed certain secret and mystic rites of the Church. Alexander sent some of his clergy to bring the boys before him. After some attempt to hide their game, they confessed that they had been celebrating a baptism. Athanasius was the boy-bishop who interrogated the young catechumens. Alexander found that all the usual questions had been put, and every particular of the rite observed. On consultation with his clergy, he, therefore, declared that the boys had been duly baptized, added the oil of consecration, and handed the children to their parents to be trained for God. Not long after, when Athanasius had finished his secular education, he was brought, like another Samuel, to the good bishop, whose secretary and amanuensis he became. The interval before the Council of Nicæa was a fruitful period of his life. When he was twenty-five he became an author. One of his books was his oration against the Greeks. Their deities and their profane and obscene rites are the subject of this apologetic treatise; his other book was a defence of the Incarnation against the Jews. The Arian heresy had not yet lifted up its head. There is no reference to it in these first productions of his pen, but Athanasius had already stepped forth as the champion of

Christian truth against the assaults of both Greek and Jew. He was now ordained deacon by his patron Alexander.

Arius was a native of the Cyrenian or eastern part of Lybia. He was about fifty-five years of age, a good scholar, and a skilled logician. As presbyter of the principal church in Alexandria, he occupied a position second only to that of the bishop. He had thus ample opportunity for propagating his views. Arius was very tall, but lean and thin, as the Emperor Constantine tells us, to a degree of frightfulness. He was absolutely without animation. His body was decayed; his face only skin and bone; his sight was feeble; his hair matted. Such, if we may trust Constantine's letter, was the outward appearance of Arius. His odd contortions were compared by his enemies "to the wriggings of a snake." He had, nevertheless, a charm of manner which secured him wide popularity. A quiet and modest behaviour, a placid (though dangerous) temper, engaging manners, and a persuasive or even fawning style of speech. All added to his influence with the people. The sweetness of his voice and the winning earnestness of his manner fascinated his hearers. Seven hundred religious ladies in Alexandria were numbered among his devoted adherents. This was the man who sowed the seeds of dissension in the Alexandrian Church. His previous history lays him open to the charge of fickleness. Arius at first joined Meletius, the founder of the "Church of the Martyrs." He afterwards left that famous schismatic, and was ordained by Peter, the Archbishop of Alexandria. Once more he relapsed and once more he returned. Meletius and Peter had been in prison during the persecution of 301. There a dispute arose between them as to the treatment of those who had renounced Christianity in the face of persecution. Meletius took the severer side, and separated from Peter. He is said to have been the first to draw attention to the heresy of Arius. Nevertheless his followers allied themselves with Arius against Athanasius.

The heresy of Arius has sometimes been ascribed to wounded vanity. Its founder is said to have been disappointed because he was not elected to the Chair of St. Mark instead of Alexander, and to have nursed a bitter jealousy of the man who was chosen for that distinguished post. He

eagerly sought some flaw in his rival's character or conduct. Alexander, however, left no room for calumny. His sanctity, his venerable age, his eloquence, mildness, and liberality won all hearts. Once, when he was speaking of the Deity of Christ, he said that the Son was of the same substance with the Father. Arius exclaimed that such doctrine was neither sound nor apostolical, but was in fact Sabellianism. The Son, he maintained, was to be numbered among created, not among eternal, beings. Arius had probably been spreading his opinions privately before this open declaration of his views; now he began zealously to propound them, both in private and in public, using his utmost endeavour to gain disciples. He went from house to house, seeking to win clergy and laity to his side. We must not, however, exaggerate, as some accounts of the rise of Arianism do, the personal element which Arius himself supplied.

Neander clearly traces the connection of Arianism with the dogmatic development of the century. Two main currents of thought are noticeable before the time of Arius. In one the unity of essence in the Trinity was prominent; the other grew out of the older emanation theories, from which it sought to remove all temporal and sensuous representations. Both systems recognized the difference in degree and in essence between the Son of God and all created beings; but the latter taught that to hold the unity of essence was to annihilate the distinction of persons. Arius gave his name to a third system, which pushed the second to a further extreme, rejecting the eternal generation as well as the unity of essence. He would allow no essential difference between the conception of the Son of God and the conception of a creature.

Arius had studied in the school of Antioch. The free grammatical interpretation of the Bible was the canon of the great teachers of Antioch. Arius pushed this method to extremes. He laid too great stress on details of expression, thus losing sight of the general harmonies of truth. His narrow conceptions and his lack of the intuitive faculty led him to crude expressions of the sublimest of all mysteries. He had none of Origen's subtlety of intellect. "The idea of a derivation in essence and not in time, was to the feebly speculative

and feebly intuitive mind of Arius, something too subtle and too refined—something incomprehensible, self-contradictory.”

Dean Stanley says forcibly that Arius’ teaching “was the excess of dogmatism founded upon the most abstract words in the most abstract region of human thought.” The controversy turned on the relations of the Divine persons in the Trinity before the first beginnings of time. Athanasius showed a more modest temper. He wrote to the monks: “The more I desired to write, and endeavoured to force myself to understand the Divinity of the Word, so much the more did the knowledge thereof withdraw itself from me; and, in proportion as I thought that I apprehended it, in so much I perceived myself to fail of doing so.” Even what he understood he could not express in writing. What “I wrote was unequal to the imperfect shadow of the truth which existed in my conceptions.” The master theologian constantly teaches that the finite mind of man could never comprehend the infinity of God. Only through perfect humanity could perfect divinity be made known to us.

We must return to the history of Arius. Alexander, who was of a gentle disposition and a great lover of peace, did his utmost by warning and entreaty to bring his chief presbyter to orthodox views. He had, indeed, a particular esteem for Arius. He called together his presbyters and deacons, that their entreaties might add weight to his own. When it became clear that Arius was not to be turned from his purpose, and was daily gaining converts in Egypt, Lybia, and the Thebaid, Alexander found it necessary to adopt other measures. The presbyters in charge of two of the city churches had already gone over. Six deacons and two bishops are named among the adherents of Arius. The African bishops, summoned by their metropolitan, met in synod to the number of well nigh one hundred. The Arians, unabashed and unmoved, were there to answer for themselves. They maintained that the Son was created, was unlike the Father, and mutable. When asked whether the Son was mutable as the devil, Arius is said to have replied that he was. The assembled bishops, filled with horror, condemned and deposed Arius and his followers without delay.

This was in 321. The next few years saw the poison spread

rapidly throughout the East. Arius gained adherents every day. A notable accession lifted the party at once to a high position. Eusebius of Nicomedia, who was distantly related to the Imperial family, was a man of ability—eloquent and skilful as a manager. He was honoured with the favour of Constantine himself, and was closely connected with the sister of the Emperor. His see—Nicomedia—had been the residence of the Eastern Cæsars since Domitian built a palace there. Eusebius' position thus gave him special facilities for spreading the Arian heresy. Bold and ambitious, this bishop threw himself eagerly into the struggle which was being waged by his old schoolfellow Arius. His own views seem already to have been heretical. Arius was the preacher, he himself became the organizer of the party—the master of Arius. He wrote letters asserting that Arius and his friends had been unjustly thrust out of the Church, and demanded his restoration. The controversy thus became a fruitful source of discord over the whole area of the Eastern Church.

Alexander, who hoped that the condemnation of Arius would give a death-blow to his heresy, had sent no account of it to the bishops of other regions. Now, however, he wrote them a full account of the troubles at Alexandria. This communication was signed by seventeen Alexandrian presbyters and twenty-four deacons; also by nineteen presbyters from Mareotis and twenty deacons. These events fall within the year when Arius was deposed by the Alexandrian synod. The city itself was soon in a ferment. Tumultuous gatherings, quarrels, and defections became so rife that the Christians were the laughing stock of the heathen theatres and of the public games. Arius left the city for Palestine, where he spread his tenets still more widely. Athanasius had already become the chief support and counsellor of the aged bishop. He was only twenty-six, but he was already honoured by the bitter hatred of the Arians, who had begun to plot for his exile or ruin.

The Arian propaganda was at last in full force. Arius issued his *Thalia*—a collection, probably, of prose and verse, written in the style of Sotades, an indecent Egyptian poet, whose luscious burlesques were considered disgraceful even by the

heathen. In his *Thalia* Arius treated the most sacred mysteries of religion in a way that could not fail to bring them into contempt. He also composed songs for sailors, millers, and travellers, which he set to tunes that quickly caught the popular ear. By this means the heresy spread rapidly among the people. No means of winning adherents were left untried. The Arians propagated their heresy in the crowded market-place, and even put questions to the boys who played there.

In the year that gave birth to the *Thalia*, Constantia, the sister of the Emperor, was won over. Two councils held in Bithynia and Palestine admitted Arius to communion and permitted him to hold assemblies. A war of pamphlets and letters followed. Alexander was alternately assailed and entreated to make him recall the heretic, but he stood firm. Arius showed his purpose by changing the doxology used in baptism. The revised form ran: "Glory be to the Father, through the Son, in the Holy Ghost."

Whilst the situation thus appeared hopelessly involved a new factor was introduced. Constantine had become master of the East through the recent defeat of Licinius. He was now bent on settling the affairs of the Church. To his amazement he found the Eastern bishops, whom he wished to heal the Donatist schism, in arms against each other on more serious grounds. Eusebius of Nicomedia easily gained his ear. At his suggestion Constantine wrote sharply to Alexander and Arius, commanding them to make peace without delay. These letters were borne by the venerable Hosius, Bishop of Cordova. He was soon convinced of the justice of Alexander's action, and bore back a report which changed the tone of the Emperor's correspondence. The Arians and Meletians gave a taste of their temper by breaking the statues of Constantine with stones when they were disappointed by the results of the synod. Arius ventured to write to Constantine himself, with a confession of his faith and many complaints of his bishop's conduct towards him. This letter was answered by the Emperor, probably with the help of Hosius. He showed how the teaching of Arius was opposed to Scripture, and complained that he had always concealed himself by obscurities

and an affected silence, instead of vindicating his orthodoxy by all possible means. To this letter we owe the graphic description of Arius' personal appearance which we have already given. The Emperor's couriers carried the missive to Alexandria, where it was publicly read to the citizens. It was also posted in all the cities of the Empire.

Constantine at last resolved to call a General Council to settle the controversies which rent the Church asunder. The place chosen was Nicæa, the second city of Bithynia, twenty miles distant from its capital, Nicomedia, the home of the Eastern Cæsars. Nicæa was a good centre for a gathering of Eastern prelates. Its name, the "City of Victory," seemed of happy omen for the victorious Emperor. Here, in the summer of 325, the bishops assembled. The number varies in the old records from 218 to 300. In later times there were said to be 318. They came from Egypt, from Syria, from Asia Minor, from Greece, and even from Mesopotamia, Persia, Scythia, and the far West. But only eight were from the West. It was an Eastern Council. Presbyters and attendants swelled the concourse to not far short of 2,000. For about three months the city entertained the venerable visitors who were to affect so largely the creed of the Christian Church.

When Constantine arrived to open the Council, complaints and petitions poured in. At last came the day for the formal opening. The assembled bishops and deacons rose to their feet as Constantine, in his dazzling robes, stepped into the crowded hall, which occupied the centre of the palace. His address, full of mourning for dissensions, and entreaties for peace, struck the right key. But angry debates soon broke out. Constantine contributed largely to the success of the Council by his active endeavours to maintain peace. Words of praise and blame, wisely distributed, helped forward the work. Before the assembled bishops the Emperor burnt the petitions or accusations that had been handed in to him. This significant act was accompanied by an exhortation to hide the faults of their brethren. "Even though I were with my own eyes to see a bishop in the commission of gross sin, I would throw my purple robe over him, that no one might suffer from the sight

of such a crime." To Acesius, the Novatian Bishop of Constantinople, who held aloof from the Church because he maintained that those who had committed the sin unto death ought not to be admitted to communion, Constantine administered a quaint reproof which fanaticism always needs: "Take a ladder, Acesius, and climb up by yourself to heaven." The Nicene Council was "an army of confessors and martyrs," composed of men who had largely endured the bitter persecution of Diocletian's reign. Constantine often sent for Paphnutius, who had lost an eye in the last persecution, and kissed the empty socket with tender devotion.

After long discussions, Hosius presented a confession, which, though much revised and enlarged at later Councils, is still known as the Nicene Creed. Eusebius of Cæsarea had brought in a confession of faith which he had learnt as a child, and had taught for many years in his diocese. This won the support of the Emperor. There were, however, three parties in the Council. Between the extreme wings—composed of the Arians and the Athanasians, who were comparatively small in number—lay the main body, from which afterwards sprang the powerful party of the Semi-Arians. They wished the doctrine of the Sonship to be expressed in general terms, such as had hitherto satisfied the Church. The Arians were eager to adopt Eusebius' Creed, because it was susceptible of interpretation in their own sense. Athanasius and his friends, who saw the necessity of silencing the Arians, would accept no compromise which left the door open for error. If Arianism gained a foothold in the Church, what would be the consequence "to Christianity as a working religion?" That was the issue which they clearly kept in view.

A word was needed which would leave no room for misconception. Eusebius of Nicomedia himself supplied it. In one of his letters he stated that to assert that the Son was uncreated was to say that he was of one substance with the Father—and that this was a proposition evidently absurd.* On this word the Council fastened. The creed brought in by Hosius incorporated it and was adopted by the Council. Eusebius

* The Greek word *homoousios*—of one substance—would perhaps be more happily rendered *co-essential*.

of Cæsarea satisfied himself by consulting the Emperor as to the meaning of the obnoxious phrase. His namesake of Nicomedia had greater scruples, yet even he was induced to accept the formulary. Arius and five others, who refused to sign it, were banished to Galatia and Illyria.

We have dwelt in some detail on this Council, because Athanasius was the life-long champion of its decisions. Though but an archdeacon, and one of the youngest members of that venerable assembly, he was recognized as the leading spirit of the Orthodox party, and was the champion who was pitted against Arius himself. He came off victorious in the long encounter at Nicæa. Arius disappeared before the Council closed; his book, the *Thalia*, was burnt; severe penalties were imposed on all in whose possession his writings should afterwards be found.

Five months after his return to Egypt Athanasius' patron, Alexander, died in extreme old age. With his last breath he designated the young archdeacon as his successor. Athanasius endeavoured to escape, but was compelled at last to return to Alexandria. The people expressed their eagerness to have him for their bishop with shouts and boisterous joy. When the Egyptian prelates met for the election the citizens thronged the church. There they stayed for several days and nights, till the man after their own heart was safely installed. Many slanders were current in later days as to the illegality of the election, but Athanasius was elected by a majority of the bishops amid the prayers and rejoicings of the people. Alexandria never changed its feeling towards him. The sympathy and appreciation of his work with which the citizens strengthened the hands of their beloved bishop, even when he was an outcast and fugitive, show how close were the bonds between priest and people. Chrysostom and Ambrose both knew the strength of popular support in the struggles which they faced at Constantinople and Milan, but no man during the whole century was so strong in the love of his people as Athanasius. His painful life was brightened by the unflinching devotion and ungrudging endurance of his fellow-citizens.

Athanasius had now reached a position which might satisfy the most soaring ambition. Gregory Nazianzen styles the

head of the Alexandrian Church the head of the world. It was the most learned Church of Christendom. Its bishop—called the Pope—enjoyed a jurisdiction over his province larger even than that of the Roman Pontiff. Athanasius was elected in 326. He died on May 2, 373. His reluctance to accept the post is stereotyped in the quaint custom, which still exists, of bringing the future Patriarch to Cairo loaded with chains and strictly guarded, as if to prevent the possibility of escape.

One of our modern poets has described the bishop as

"The royal-hearted Athanase
With Paul's own mantle blest."

He wielded an influence like the great Apostle's over men's minds and hearts. Gregory Nazianzen's tribute goes far to explain the hold which Athanasius gained on princes, priests, hermits, and people. "Sublime in life, he was nevertheless humble in spirit." King among men though he was, he was "easy of access, gentle, averse to wrath, prone to pity, pleasant in speech, still more pleasant in manners, angelic in face, and in mind still more angelic, gentle in administering blame, skilled in teaching those whom he praised." The graces of his mind and heart were in marked contrast to the feebleness of physique which made Julian describe him with a sneer as a dwarf rather than a man. He is said to have stooped slightly. He had a hooked nose and a little mouth, a short beard, large whiskers, auburn hair.

The first few years of Athanasius' administration were days of peace. The Nicene Council had for the moment given rest to the Church. But it was only the lull before the storm. Constantine was easily imposed upon. He was no theologian, and could not detect the evasions to which the Arians were ready to resort. He soon fell a prey to their intrigues. Athanasius and Hosius were far from Court; the Emperor was thrown among bishops who were at heart supporters of Arius. About the beginning of 329, two of the banished heretics were restored to their dignities. They laboured zealously to bring about a reaction. An Arian priest, however, who ingratiated himself with the Emperor's sister, was the chief actor in this plot. On her death-bed Constantia com-

mended her chaplain to the special favour of her brother, as a man of sterling piety and orthodoxy. This priest's assurance that Arius' faith was the same as that of the Nicene Council led Constantine to recall him from Illyricum. He now sent him to Alexandria with orders that Athanasius should receive him into the Church. This the unflinching prelate stoutly refused. Arius had, therefore, to content himself with raising tumults in the city.

Meanwhile, Eustathius of Antioch fell a prey to the Arians. His high character and his intrepidity in attacking Eusebius of Cæsarea exposed him to their special enmity. He was deposed and banished about the year 331. The home of Chrysostom thus became one of the hotbeds of heresy. The citizens were divided into hostile factions. A resort to arms was only prevented by fear of the Emperor's indignation. In after years, when Constantius resided in the city, it was left to the mercy of the heretics.

Before the storm burst upon his own head, Athanasius had welcomed Frumentius to Alexandria, and ordained him Bishop of Æthiopia. This pleasing incident shows the Church at work in her proper sphere. Unhappily, there was but little of such work for Athanasius. As he declined all overtures made by the Arians, and supported the Nicene Creed with all the influence of his high position and commanding genius, the opposite party set themselves to compass his destruction. Arius is but a lay figure after the Council of Nicæa. Eusebius of Cæsarea, his namesake of Nicomedia, and a few other bishops were the real heads of the conspiracy. Their main object was to defame Athanasius' character, and ruin his influence. The Meletians, who now joined the Arians, became the busy slanderers of Athanasius. Sacrilege and cruelty were the two main charges against him. He was accused of breaking a chalice in one of the Meletian churches of Mareotis, and having murdered or mutilated Arsenius, one of their bishops. Knowing the unscrupulousness of his accusers, Athanasius refused to appear before the Council of Cæsarea, which was called to adjudicate on these charges. Only at the Emperor's urgent command did he attend the Council of Tyre in 335. He was able to show that, in the

village where his agent was accused of breaking the chalice, neither church nor chalice could exist. As to Arsenius, he had a yet more triumphant refutation. This man had been skilfully hidden in the monastery of Ptemencyrcis. When Athanasius was charged with his murder, he despatched a deacon to gain some news of Arsenius, whom he had not seen for five or six years. The messenger learned that he was alive and at the monastery, but before he and his companions could reach the place Arsenius had been sent down the Nile to the lower parts of Egypt. He afterwards went privately to Tyre. There some servants in a tavern heard that he was concealed in a certain house. Arsenius was at once seized and kept by a man who was friendly to Athanasius. In the Council the shrivelled hand which the Arians brought forward as that of Arsenius produced a sensation. Scarcely had the clamour ceased, when Athanasius asked the judges whether they knew Arsenius. Many replied that they knew him well. "Bring him in, then," was the rejoinder. "Is this Arsenius, whom I murdered? whose hand I cut off?" he asked again. The prelates were bound to acknowledge that it was Arsenius. Drawing back the man's cloak, Athanasius laid bare each of his hands in turn. "No one seeks another," he said, "for two hands only have we received from God our Maker."

That scene in the council room is a striking instance of the unscrupulous opposition which Athanasius had to face. Not less perfectly does it illustrate the calm self-possession, not without a touch of grim humour, with which he rebutted the charges. A woman of ill-fame was even brought forward to swear that Athanasius was the father of her child; but she effectually discredited her own story by mistaking Timotheus, an Alexandrian presbyter, for Athanasius.

At last the persecuted Bishop took a bold step. He withdrew abruptly from the Council and took ship for Constantinople, in order that he might appeal to the Emperor himself. When he left Tyre the bishops brought in a sentence of condemnation against him. They then set out for Jerusalem to consecrate a church built on Calvary. In that sacred city they held a council, by which Arius and his followers were publicly admitted into communion. Whilst thus employed, they were

startled by a summons from the Emperor commanding their return to Constantinople, to answer the charges brought against them by Athanasius.

The intrepid Bishop had watched his opportunity for his appeal. When Constantine was paying a visit, he suddenly appeared before him in the public street with his tale of outrage. One may well pause to gaze on that scene. The tall, stout soldier, with his thick neck and somewhat bloated face, sitting on horseback, and the dwarf-like figure suddenly falling at his feet. The Emperor's magnificent robe, embroidered with pearls and flowers worked in gold, must have formed a strange contrast to the humble garb of the ascetic bishop. Yet we have no difficulty in recognizing the priest as the more kingly man. Constantine appears to little advantage in these last years of his life. At first he did not recognize Athanasius. Even when his attendants told him that it was the Bishop and spoke of his wrongs, Constantine did not enter into conversation with him. He refused his request for a hearing, and almost ordered him to be removed. When Athanasius, however, waxed bolder, and claimed to be confronted with his accusers, Constantine felt that he could not refuse this request. The six Arian bishops hastily dismissed their colleagues of the Tyrian Council, lest the Emperor should become aware of their plotting, and came to Constantinople in a panic. Their evil genius did not fail them. The credulous Emperor actually believed their latest slander. Athanasius, they said, had threatened to cut off the corn-fleet which Alexandria sent every year to feed the good citizens of Constantinople. It was in vain that Athanasius pleaded his poverty and his private station. Eusebius swore that Athanasius was a rich man, powerful, and able to do whatever he wished.

On the strength of this absurd charge the Bishop was banished to Trèves in Gaul. Five of his bishops shared his banishment. His exile was not without its mitigations. "Amid the cowhills, pierced by rocky dells, and on a strath of richest soil, Trèves had grown from the mud-hut town of the Treviri into a noble city of palaces, theatres, baths, triumphal arches, on either side the broad and clear Moselle."* The bishop of

* Kingsley's *Hermits*, p. 26.

the city, Maximinus, received the exile with tender kindness. The younger Constantine, then in Trèves, was not less eager to do honour to the illustrious exile, whom he warmly befriended as long as he lived. By his kindness all the bishop's wants were abundantly supplied. Though the convener of the Nicene Council had banished its chief ornament and unwearied supporter, the enemies of Athanasius were not allowed to carry all things before them. Constantine would not permit them to appoint another prelate to the see of Alexandria. The place was still left open for Athanasius' return.

Athanasius was banished in the beginning of 336. Although Constantine had weakly yielded to the plots of the Arians, he still considered himself the patron of orthodoxy. He regarded the Nicene Creed as the bulwark of the Christian faith, and the peculiar glory of his own reign. It was necessary for the Arians to disguise their opinions. The Emperor forbade them to form churches of their own, or even to hold private meetings. His one idea was to secure uniformity, and put an end to controversy. Arius assured the Emperor that he held the Catholic faith. Constantine, therefore, ordered the Catholic bishop of the imperial city to receive him into communion. The old prelate, who was in his ninety-ninth year, cast himself before the altar in the Irene Church, beseeching God with strong crying and tears to suffer him to depart in peace rather than allow him to witness such desecration of the sanctuary. Almost at the moment of his prayer Arius left the imperial palace with a gay and jubilant band of friends. All eyes followed the procession. When it reached the Forum of Constantine Arius was seized with violent internal pains, and went aside to a place behind the Forum, where he died, as the tradition said, a strange and agonizing death. This event produced a profound sensation. A wealthy Arian purchased the place, and built a house upon it to efface the sinister impression made by this tragic event.

Constantine himself died at Nicomedia, on May 22, 337, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. Constantius, the second of his three sons, became Emperor of the East. The Court was the stronghold of Arianism. "In the Imperial Court, the officers of the bed-chamber held disputes with the women, and

in the city in every house there was a war of dialectics." From the palace the evil spread to the city, thence it ran through the Eastern empire. The weak young prince posed as the patron of the heretics, mourning over the introduction of the *ὁμοούσιον*, which he regarded as the cause of all the trouble. Athanasius brands him as "the patron of impiety and the Emperor of the heretics." His brother Constantine, to whom the Gallic provinces had been assigned, was of another spirit. He sent Athanasius back to Alexandria with a communication for the people of that city, dated from Trèves, in which he lavished the highest praises upon his friend. The year is somewhat doubtful, but he probably returned in 338.

Alexandria welcomed her long-lost bishop with universal rejoicing. The clergy long remembered the day of his return as one of their brightest festivals. The Eusebians would not, however, suffer Athanasius to be at peace. They had the ear of Constantius, to whom they told such slanderous stories of the bishop's entry into Alexandria, that the Emperor wrote a letter to Athanasius, full of complaints. Eusebius of Nicomedia managed to secure his own election to Constantinople, where his proximity to the Emperor gave him fuller opportunity to work his schemes. He and his party met at Antioch in 339, where they appointed Pistus Bishop of Alexandria in the place of Athanasius. Athanasius and his friends felt it time to bestir themselves. A synod of bishops was held in Alexandria, which prepared a refutation of the slanders to which they were subject. Presbyters were sent to Rome to lay this communication before Julius, the bishop, who became Athanasius' firm friend. The outlook, however, was growing more and more gloomy. Constantine the younger was killed in an unfortunate quarrel with his brother Constans in 340. In a synod at Antioch in 341, the Eusebians elected Gregory, of Cappadocia, successor to Athanasius, Pistus not being accepted by the authorities of the city. Gregory had studied in Alexandria, where he had received special kindness from Athanasius, but he signalized himself by his unsparing cruelty. The magistrates who had been sent with Gregory secured him the support of the civil power. Baits were held out to Jews, heathen, and rabble. When

their passions had been roused these men were sent with swords and clubs into the churches to attack the people.

The Church and the Baptistery were set on fire, virgins were insulted and even stripped naked. Birds and pine cones were offered in sacrifice, and idol hymns were chanted in the Sanctuary. Even the books of Scripture were burned. At last Gregory gave up the church to pillage. The money laid up by citizens in this sacred bank was stolen, the wine drunk or carried off. Every form of outrage and rapine was practised. Presbyters and laymen had their flesh torn, many were cast into prison, others had their goods confiscated and were scourged. It was indeed a reign of terror. Well might Athanasius exclaim: "O new heresy, that hast put on the whole devil in impiety and wicked deeds."

Meanwhile Athanasius had fled to Rome, in May 341. A synod held there the same year acquitted him of the charges laid against him. His most untiring enemy, Eusebius of Constantinople, died in November 342. The Eastern capital now became a prey to the riots which every episcopal election seemed to cause in these angry times. Meanwhile Athanasius enjoyed a season of rest in Rome. He spent his time chiefly in the public worship of the Church. He was present at many ecclesiastical gatherings, and probably wrote his Synopsis of Scripture during these years. His life moved quietly on till 345, when the exiled Bishop was summoned to appear before Constans at Milan. There his representations, and above all the magic influence which he never failed to exert on others, stirred the Emperor to become the champion of the faith. He was often summoned into the imperial presence, where his moderation and Christian character made him respected by all. In 347 a council of about one hundred Western bishops was held at Sardica. The Eastern prelates, to the number of seventy-three, withdrew to Thrace when they saw the temper of the Council at Sardica. When they were gone the Western bishops considered the charges against Athanasius and other exiled bishops. All were pronounced innocent and reinstated in their sees. The Arians were then condemned.

It was not, however, till 349 that Athanasius was restored to his diocese. Gregory—the "false bishop"—that year

paid the price of his cruelty and crime. The Alexandrians rose against him and murdered him. The way now opened for the return of Athanasius. Constans had threatened to restore him by force, but Constantius himself seemed won over. He wrote three times entreating the prelate to return. He even urged his brother Constans to hasten the coming of the exile, whom he had been expecting for a whole year. Constans, overjoyed with this result, summoned his friend to Gaul. Before he left for the East Athanasius visited Rome to bid farewell to Julius and the Church. Great was the rejoicing in the imperial city. Julius wrote to the clergy and people of Alexandria warmly commending their heroic steadfastness, and extolling their bishop, who came back to them, he said, more distinguished than he left them. At Antioch Athanasius met Constantius, who solemnly promised to listen to no more slanders. Athanasius would fain have met his accusers face to face that he might effectually confute them there and then, but he was compelled to content himself with the Emperor's promise. The Arians of Antioch moved Constantius to ask that one of the Christian churches might be given up to their brethren at Alexandria. During his stay at Antioch the Bishop had worshipped with the Orthodox party, who had been robbed of all their buildings. He, therefore, simply answered that he would give the Arians a church at Alexandria if they would grant one to the Orthodox at Antioch. The heretics found it prudent to say no more on this subject.

The Bishop's journey to Alexandria was like a royal progress. The Emperor had rescinded all decrees against Athanasius, and given orders that he should be restored to his country and his church. When the exile reached Alexandria all Egypt seemed to have flocked together from far and wide to welcome him home. Long afterwards, in the crowd assembled to do honour to a popular governor, one man said to his fellow: "Tell me, did you ever see such a multitude gathered together with such concord to honour one man?" "Never," said the young man. "Even Constantius could not be received with greater magnificence." The other answered with a smile: "I don't think even the great Athanasius could be welcomed with greater honour."

The year closed with signs of settled peace. The Arian leaders were utterly discouraged. Some of them eagerly sought to make friends with Athanasius. Ursacius and Valens, two young bishops who had been scholars of Arius, and had made their first appearance on the scene at the Council of Tyre, acknowledged that the charges against him were without foundation, and implored forgiveness from him and Julius. "Who is not filled with joy," wrote Athanasius, "discerning such great concord among so many bishops?"

He soon learned, however, that his troubles were not at an end. His patron, Constans, was murdered in the following year. The Arians now began again to lift their heads. Athanasius found it necessary to draw up an apology, in which he refuted the charges against him that the Arians began once more to spread. Constantius still seemed to be his friend. Immersed in civil trouble though he was, he found time to bid Athanasius be of good courage, and, undismayed by the plots of his enemies, teach the people true piety and religion.

But Constantius soon changed his tone. Valens, the Arian bishop of Mursa, whose maudlin penitence marked his panic at the return of Athanasius, managed to gain early news of the battle fought there with the usurper Magnentius. The Emperor, who was waiting the result of the fight in the church, was simple enough to credit the bishop's statement that an angel had revealed the news to him. Constantius was accustomed to say that he owed the battle to the merits of Valens, not to the courage of his army. It is not surprising, in the presence of such facts, to see how he once more fell a prey to Arian duplicity. Meanwhile the people of Alexandria grew in piety, and held firmly to the Nicene Creed. Athanasius was safe whilst he remained in his own city. The Arians, therefore, forged letters from him, requesting that he might have permission to go to Italy on Church matters. Constantius was instructed to grant the request, in order that the Bishop might be ruined. Athanasius disconcerted the plot by saying that he did not wish to go.

The climax was reached at Milan in 355. The schemes of the Arian bishops were successful with the aid of Constantius. Those who, in spite of threats and blandishments, were faithful

to Athanasius were deprived of their sees. Threats, fines, and exile were the weapons of the Arians. Every city was full of terror and tumult. Bishops were snatched from their people amid universal mourning. The mines, prisons, and places of exile could scarcely contain the unfortunate prelates whom the cruel Emperor sent thither. Hilary wrote the prince a fierce letter, in which he calls him a worse persecutor than Nero or Domitian. For a time Athanasius was safe in the love of his people.

Liberius of Rome and the venerable Hosius were both exiled because neither threats nor promises would make them unfaithful to the Nicene Creed and its defender. At last Athanasius' hour of trouble came. He and his people were keeping vigil preparatory to the next day's communion, when the General Syrianus surrounded the church, with more than five thousand soldiers armed with swords, spears, and bows. Syrianus stationed his men so as to cut off retreat from the church. Athanasius, refusing to desert his flock, sat down on his throne. He desired his deacon to read the 136th Psalm, and the people to respond "For his mercy endureth for ever." The general had now forced an entry. Soldiers surrounded the chancel to prevent Athanasius' escape. When his friends begged him to fly, he "stood up, and, having bidden prayer," requested the people to return to their homes. After the greater part had retired, the monks and clergy dragged their master away. Soldiers surrounded the chancel, others patrolled around the church, yet Athanasius slipped away unobserved. The monks of the desert, with whom he took refuge, welcomed him as an angel of God. No evil could overtake him amid these wary friends. Meanwhile Alexandria lay at the mercy of his successor, George of Cappadocia, an unscrupulous, ambitious, and venal upstart.

Amid the outrages which followed all eyes turned to the desert. Athanasius, though withdrawn from his people, was still their leader. Constantius issued an order that the churches should be given over to the Arians. The people would not yield. Some priests and deacons were able to fly, but those who suffered counted it a joy to bear trouble for such a cause. George made himself so much hated by his greed and his exactions, that he was set upon in one of the

churches, and narrowly escaped with his life. He found it prudent to withdraw from the city, so that the people had rest. Liberius and Hosius, broken by their painful exile and by the threats of the Arians, seem to have lapsed in 357. Such a result, painful though it was, was scarcely to be wondered at. No device was left untried by the Arians. Great as the shock of their defection must have been to Athanasius, it did not betray him into censure or self-gratulation. His tribute to Hosius, that Abraham-like old man, is one of the finest passages in his works. "Of all men the most illustrious, and more than this. When was there a council held, in which he did not take the lead, and convince every one by his orthodoxy? Where is there a church that does not possess some glorious monuments of his patronage? Who has ever come to him in sorrow, and has not gone away rejoicing? What needy person ever asked his aid, and did not obtain what he desired? And yet, even on this man they made their assault, because, knowing the calumnies which they invented in behalf of their iniquity, he would not subscribe to their designs against me. And if, afterwards, upon the repeated blows that were inflicted upon him above measure, and the conspiracies that were formed against his kinsfolk, he yielded to them for a time, as being old and infirm in body, yet, at least their wickedness was shown even in this circumstance; so zealously did they endeavour by all means to prove that they were not truly Christians."

Constantius died in 360. His successor, Julian the Apostate, gave orders for all exiles to return to their homes. The way to Alexandria was thus opened for Athanasius. Before he reached the city, George had been murdered by the heathen. The Arians now met secretly, and in private buildings. The heathen inhabitants of Alexandria, who saw that the zeal of Athanasius hindered every attempt to re-establish their worship, and was daily thinning their ranks, appealed to Julian. The Emperor ordered Athanasius, whom he describes as the "meddling demagogue," "the audacious conspirator, elated by his characteristic rashness," to quit Egypt without delay. As his weeping friends stood around, Athanasius said, "Be of good cheer; it is a cloud which shall soon pass." He only escaped in time. Julian had sent private directions that he was to be slain; but

before the magistrate could act the Bishop was gone. He was pursued up the Nile, and would have been overtaken, but, favoured by a bend in the stream, he turned his boat and met his pursuers. "How far is Athanasius?" they shouted. "Not at all far," was the answer, which quickened the pace of the hostile boats. Athanasius found a cordial welcome among his old friends the monks. Next year the death of Julian opened the way for his return.

Jovian, who only reigned eight months, did himself honour by his cordial letters to Athanasius, and the way in which he repelled the insinuations of the Arians. He invited Athanasius to Antioch, where he received him with every mark of favour. Valens, his successor, was an Arian, who went from city to city with his Prefect, driving out the Orthodox bishops, and introducing men of his own views. For a season, however, Athanasius was undisturbed. His book on the Trinity and his *Life of Antony* were written about this time.

In 367 Athanasius was banished for the fifth time by an edict of Valens. All bishops who had been deposed in the time of Constantius and restored by Julian were ordered to leave their sees. The people of Alexandria made strenuous efforts to secure the exemption of their beloved Bishop from this order, but in vain. Athanasius, with his unfailing sagacity, retired just in time to escape the band of soldiers who surrounded the church in the precincts of which he lived. His exile was of short duration. Valens soon found it prudent to rescind his order and leave the Bishop in peace.

His last years were spent in tranquillity. Throughout the Christian world he was revered as the guardian of Christian truth; the friend to whom all Churches might turn for counsel. Basil's correspondence with him is a happy feature of these years of honoured age. The newly ordained priest invoked the patriarch's help in restoring peace to the distracted city of Antioch.

The champion of orthodoxy died in May 373, having filled the See of Alexandria for forty-six years. "Five times was Athanasius expelled from his throne; twenty years he passed as an exile or a fugitive; and almost every province of the Roman Empire was successively witness to his merit and his suffer-

ings in the cause of Homoousion, which he considered as the sole pleasure and business, as the duty, and as the glory of life." Gibbon, who pays this tribute, dwells on the far-sighted wisdom of Athanasius in the conduct of the controversy. "He preserved a distinct and unbroken view of a scene which was incessantly shifting; and never failed to improve those decisive moments which are irrecoverably past before they are perceived by a common eye." He showed the age which witnessed the conversion of the Roman Empire that not even an Emperor could overawe or turn aside the champion of Christian truth. Against Athanasius all weapons of persuasion or coercion were alike vain. He never occupied the place as a Court ecclesiastic that Ambrose filled, but he was the man who taught even Roman Emperors "Thus far shalt thou come, and no farther."

Athanasius' old friend, Peter, succeeded him. He had been the constant companion of his Bishop in exile and his great helper at Alexandria. His hair was already grey, but he was a man of acknowledged wisdom and sanctity. Persecution soon burst upon him. He was compelled to fly to Rome, where he remained till 378. He died in 381. Another disciple of Athanasius was then elected to the Chair of St. Mark. The Eastern world was saved from Arianism by the heroic struggle which Athanasius and his successors waged. Driven out of the East, Arianism found a home among the Gothic tribes. Ulfilas, the heroic missionary who became the Moses of these barbarians, had unfortunately imbibed the error. Alaric, Genseric, and Theodoric, the great conquerors, were all Arians. Spain and Southern France became strongholds of the heresy, whence it was not dislodged till the sixth century.

ART. VII.—VAGRANTS AND VAGRANCY.

1. *A History of Vagrants and Vagrancy, and Beggars and Begging.* Illustrated. By C. J. RIBTON-TURNER. Chapman & Hall. 1887.
2. *London Labour and the London Poor.* By HORACE MAYHEW. Charles Knight. 1853.

WHAT has been lately happening in London forces upon every thinking mind the question: "Is this something new? Has the balance between work and workers been hitherto so fairly maintained that the unemployed have been but few? Are we face to face with an untried social problem, or has the same inequality existed at other times, its greater prominence at the present moment being solely due to the vast increase in population and the immensely increased means of publicity?" Such a question can only be answered by carefully studying the social history of the country, that page which the ordinary historian seldom or never fills in. Sometimes, indeed, a social change has been so sweeping that not even in the merest primer can it be wholly unnoticed. The suppression of the monasteries, for instance, so filled the ranks of the unemployed, or rather of the unfed, that a child who has passed the fifth standard can tell us something about Henry the Eighth's vagrancy laws, while readers of the most dilettante magazines have had brought before them the effect on the labour market of the Black Death some two centuries before. But a complete view of the ratio between work and workers, of the position and number of the non-workers, of their state relatively to the rest of the population, is still to seek.

Dyer's excellent and suggestive book contains in various chapters a good deal about it; he traces with special clearness the way in which, under the shadow of the feudal castle, grew up the wretched ne'er-do-weel families in which ever since pauperism has often been hereditary—out of which, in fact, our modern *residuum* has grown. Rowbotham, in the last volume of his *History of Music*, has

some thoughtful and eloquent pages on the minstrels of every degree, who contributed so largely to swell the ranks of vagrancy, and the earliest specimens of whom were the direct descendants of the music-players, jugglers; and purveyors of miscellaneous amusements who swarmed in the cities of the Roman Empire, and who, mixed up as most of them were with some kind of so-called religious observance, found their occupation gone when Christianity was established, at any rate among the town populations. Horace notes the beginning of that influx of Orientals, the full tide of which led Juvenal to complain that the Orontes had flowed into the Tiber. Syrians, Jews, Egyptians, Greeks, flower-girls, flute-players, *impresarios*, actors of all kinds, formed a caste which, like the gipsies of a later day, held together after the closing of the temples had driven them to a wandering life. They found support among the villagers (*pagani*), who in many parts still held to the old faith; but they were always looked on with suspicion, their juggling and sleight-of-hand laying them open to the charge of sorcery. The mediæval minstrel, though he probably learned his tunes from them (this seems the most reasonable explanation of the growth and diffusion of popular as opposed to Church music), was a being of a different order. In France and Germany the profession came to be adopted by men of noble birth; even in our own land the charms of such a roving life drew into its ranks many a page for whom the prospect of knighthood seemed too distant. Such men would bring to village maidens their only glimpse of culture; they would form connections, and the resulting families would swell the army of vagrants.

But in our own islands, at any rate, Mr. Ribton-Turner finds the first beginnings of vagrancy in difference of race. Both in Great Britain and in Ireland there still exist remnants of a pre-Gaelic people, probably Euskarian or Basque; while in Ireland, at any rate (see Richey's *Short History*), a yet earlier branch of the human family, Mongoloid, palæolithic, is still represented. These peoples possibly were conquered, and more or less absorbed by the incoming Gael; and in the Irish annals (the only Western records of the way in which the conquest was carried out) they are spoken of in language

singularly like that in which the aborigines of the Ganges valley are spoken of in the Indian romances. They are "servile tribes of ignoble countenance" (*Book of Rights*); "every one who is *black-haired*, noisy, contemptible; every inhospitable person, every mean thief, every disturber of councils and assemblies, is of the servile race" (M'Firbis, *Book of Genealogies*). Besides conquest, other causes swelled the ranks of the slave population. In Anglo-Saxon times we know that there were insolvency, crime of which the offender could not pay the *wehr-geld*, gambling, illegal violence or the wresting of legal power, and voluntary surrender in order to obtain food and protection at the price of freedom. Doubtless some of these had existed in earlier times. Anyhow, the traffic in slaves, for which Britain was famous even before Cæsar's day, proves the existence of a servile population, which Mr. Turner believes to be the stock of our modern vagrants, though at various periods it has received successive graftings.

Hence the history of vagrancy is bound up with a much larger subject, the social and political struggles of the lower classes to emancipate themselves. "Servile by inheritance or by destiny, they have gradually won their freedom, leaving only a remnant who are servile or abject from choice, and whose history becomes a record of hypocrisy, humbug, and habitual idleness." In the earliest times flight was the slave's only escape from unbearable harshness; hence the severity of the Anglo-Saxon code against vagrants. The earliest laws are those of Hlothaire and Eadric, who reigned in Kent in 673 and 685 respectively. These enact that he who gives a wanderer three nights' entertainment becomes answerable for him. King Ine's code is still severer. By it *ceorls* or *churls* (the lowest in the rank of the freemen; many of them, says Mr. Turner, doubtless of Celtic race) were forbidden to harbour fugitives; while, if the *ceorl* himself "stole away into another shire," he was heavily fined, and, failing payment, became a *wite-theow* (penal slave). By-and-by, thanks to the growing influence of the Church, manumissions became frequent—the *theow* being raised to the rank of *ceorl*, but even so he was not free in our sense—he was "the man" of him who had emancipated him; and though his master might bequeath to him the right of choosing another

lord, he was constantly robbed of this privilege on pretence that there were debts due or fees payable to the lord's heir. Hence, in Alfred's will, when he emancipated all his dependents, he gave them express liberty to select their future lord: "I, in the name of the living God, bid that no man hinder them, either by demands of fee or any other thing, from choosing as lord whom they will."

Æthelstan is very strict against "the lordless man" (the vagrant, *flyma*). His kindred are to fix him in the folk-right and to find him a lord in the folk-mote, and if they cannot or will not produce him, "then let him slay him for a thief that can come at him"—a summary way of settling the difficulty about the unemployed. Even under Cnut, whose laws exhibit a higher degree of social development, the law about three nights' harbouring is re-enacted, though at the same time there is in the following an attempt to protect him "of whom no law could be got:" "If a friendless man" (i.e., outlaw, murderer, thief, or runaway slave, who might be put to death without incurring fine) "or a comer from far be so distressed that he has no *borh* (surety) at the *frum-tihle* (first charge), let him then submit to prison and there abide until he goes to God's ordeal. Verily, he who dooms a worse doom to the friendless and the comer from afar than to his fellow injures himself." Such "friendless man" often repaid inhospitality by setting fire to rick or plantation; indeed arson, for which, under Æthelstan, the penalty was "cxx. shillings" (a shilling being the price of a sheep), was, under Cnut, made *botless*—i.e., punishable only by death.* The law against harbouring lasted on till the Norman Conquest: "*Two nichte geste, the thirdde nichte agen hine*" (two nights a guest, the third night his own hind), was a proverb showing the responsibility involved in playing the host for more than two nights, seeing that every man was liable for his own servants' conduct.

In pre-Norman Britain, then, the chief causes of vagrancy were—want of subsistence, owing to the destructive inroads of hostile tribes; helplessness from age or infirmity; murrain or

* Cnut's sister, Earl Godwin's wife, used (says William of Malmesbury) to buy up good-looking girls in England, and sell them over in Denmark—a practice forbidden as long ago as the laws of Ine.

failure of crops; harsh treatment under slavery; crime necessitating flight; in addition, of course, to the love of wandering, which was at least as strong then as it is now. That the greater part of the army of vagrants thus variously recruited belonged to the British race, Mr. Turner thinks is certain; indeed, he believes there would have been uprisings of this class against their masters but for the wholesale manumissions during the incessant wars, a slave not being allowed to carry arms, while a freeman was bound to do so.

Of the harsh laws of which we have given a sample the only mitigation was the Church's influence. "When a man fasts, let the dishes (says Dunstan's pupil, King Eadgar) that would have been eaten be all distributed to God's poor." Archbishop Eadbert of York enjoins that "the third of the tithe is, with all humility, mercifully to be distributed by the priest himself to the poor and strangers." Cnut, writing from Rome, where he was on pilgrimage, orders that all plough-alsms (a penny from each plough-land, payable within fifteen days from Easter—our "Easter dues") be duly distributed to the poor.*

The net result of social changes during the Anglo-Saxon period appears to have been the depression of the *ceorl*, owing to the incessant confiscation of his rights by his superiors, and the raising of the *theow*, who was allowed to purchase out of his savings the conditional freedom possessed by the *ceorl*. From the Conquest these two classes are merged in the *villani* or *nativi*; the laws, such as *quod nemo plus triduo accipiat hospitio*, being re-enacted. At the same time, the upper and middle classes were degraded—deservedly, if William of Malmesbury's picture of the Saxon noble "hearing mattins and masses from a hurrying priest in his bedroom, amid the blandishments of his wife, and selling his female servants, when pregnant by him, either to foreign slavery or public prostitution," is not too highly coloured. The punishment was sorest in Stephen's reign, when "if two or three came riding into a town, all the township fled for them, concluding them to be robbers. . . . To till the ground was to plough the sea, for the land was all laid waste by such deeds; and men said

* To beg is *waedlian*, whence our "wheedle," which bears witness to the time-out-of-mind character of the beggar's appeal.

openly that Christ slept and His saints." The Norman forest laws must have helped to increase the army of vagrants, to which such cruelties as those which came to a head in Stephen's reign were always adding volunteers. To avoid torture or mutilation for a breach of these laws, a man must perforce join a band of outlaws or wander off to a distant part of the kingdom. Then there were the invasions of Welsh and Scotch, which, by destroying the crops, forced hundreds into beggary, while many more were driven to it by the afforesting of their lands, for this process went on till the reign of Henry III., the sixty-eight forests bequeathed by the Conqueror not being enough for his successors. Flocking into towns dates from the Conqueror's edict that any villein who remained unclaimed for a year and a day in any borough, walled town, or castle, should be free for ever. The hardier would join bands like that of Sir Gosseline Denville of North-allerton, who, in Edward II.'s time, actually performed many of the feats which are embodied in the Robin Hood legend, among other things doing with a Dominican friar, one Bernard Sympson, what Kett's troop did with Matthew Parker in Edward VI.'s reign—making him mount a tree and thence preach a sermon, which proved so popular that they gave him his liberty and all that they had plundered him of.

The Black Death, beginning in 1348, largely swelled the ranks of vagrancy. From a third to a half of the population was swept off. Wages rose, the danger being that great part of the land would remain untilled; and despite the "*Statutum de Servientibus*," prepared in 1349 but not passed till two years after, since Parliament missed two sittings owing to the plague, the labourers were practically masters of the situation. Such rules as: "The old wages and no more shall be given to servants; if any lord of manor or town do offend against this he shall forfeit treble value; if any workman take more wages than were wont to be paid he shall be put in gaol, and shall pay the surplusage to the town wherein he dwelleth towards the king's 10th and 15th (*Disme et Quinzième*) to him granted," were not likely to be efficacious; and great complaints are made, in the preamble to a re-enactment of the statute, of "the malice of servants which are idle and not willing to

serve after the pestilence without taking excessive wages." It was further enacted, that servants should be sworn twice a year before the stewards, bailiffs, or constables of the place where they live, lest they should wander off in summer to districts where higher wages ruled, an exception being made in favour of the men of Craven, Stafford, Lancaster, and Derby, and of the Scotch and Welsh marches, who might, "*as they were wont to do*, labour in other counties in harvest-time. . . . Servants which flee from one county to another shall be committed to prison." But all was of no use, chiefly because it was impossible to carry out the companion enactments, "that all victuals shall be sold at reasonable rates, and that cordwainers and others shall not sell their wares for more than they did in the 20th year of Edward III." Prices went up immensely, owing to the scarcity of labour; the labourers could not live on the old wages; and to imprison any large number would only increase the scarcity of labour. Servants took to flight, taking refuge in towns or swelling the ranks of vagrancy, though besides imprisonment the runaways were liable to branding in the forehead with F, *en signe de Fauxine* (falsity). Many gravitated to London, where in 1359 was passed the first of many civic "proclamations against vagrants:" "Forasmuch as many, men and women and others, of divers counties, who might work to the help of the common weal, have betaken themselves from out of their own county to the City of London, and do go about begging there, so as to have their own ease and repose, to the great damage of the common people; and also do waste divers alms which would otherwise be given to many poor sick folk, we, the mayor and aldermen, do therefore command that all who are able to work shall quit the City between now and Monday next ensuing; and if any such shall be found begging after the day aforesaid, the same shall be taken and put in the stocks on Cornhulle, the first time for half a day, the second for a day, and the third to be imprisoned for forty days, and then forswear the said City for ever." Those runaway labourers who remained in the country often became cudgel-players and quarter-staff men, travelling in small parties, or they took to undisguised robbery, swelling the ranks of the "sturdy rogues"

whose exploits were so daring that, in 1363, some of them robbed the King of Cyprus as he was travelling through the country. Vagrancy received also a great accession from the returned soldiers, who, after the long French wars, were wholly unfit to resume a peaceful life. Robert Langland, in *Peers Ploughman* (1362), gives another cause of beggary, the tricks and interminable delays of the law: "confusion to the poor man though he plead for ever; faithful burghers and bondmen the law often bringeth to ruin." He describes, too, a large mass of honest poor always on the verge of want, "ashamed to beg, and would not have it known at their neighbours' houses what their wants are, and yet for such a family a farthing's worth of mussels and as many cockles were a feast. True alms it were to help those who have such charges, and to comfort such cottagers along with the poor and decrepit." On professional beggars, who were then proportionally as numerous as now, Langland has no mercy. "Thou, Peers, if thou be of ability, lend thy poor neighbour of thy loaf though thou eat the less; but to idle loiterers and drawlatches carry not a crumb, for they live at ease by other men's labours, never marrying, but begetting bastards who are beggars by nature, and either break the back or some other bone of their little ones, and go begging with them on false pretences evermore." He felt the harm of indiscriminate charity, for "if Holy Church," he says, "would lend her aid," in carefully discriminating, "there would be no beggars." At the same time he pities the state of the poor, "who at Midsummer (when corn gets scarce) sup without bread and in winter go wet-shot, frostbitten, with blains on their fingers, besides being foully rebuked of the rich that it is pitiful to hear. O Lord! send a summer of comfort and joy to them that have spent all their lives here in want and misery." Under Richard II. the complaint "that labourers will not serve and labour without outrageous and excessive hire," is repeated; penalties are provided for offenders; and of those who have escaped into towns the covenant or bond of apprentice is declared null, provided they have been ploughing or carting up to the age of twelve; the only exceptions are people of religion and hermits having letters testimonial of their ordi-

naries, impotent beggars, and scholars of the Universities begging under the seal of their Chancellor. Such statutes would not have been repeatedly passed had not the labourer been given to drift into the ranks of vagrancy. These ranks had from early times been largely recruited from Wales (Edward I.'s law in 1284 against bards, rhymers, and *westours*—*gwestwr*, an unbidden guest; from *gwest*, a visit—corrupted into *waster*); in Henry V.'s reign we hear for the first time of "Irishmen and Irish begging clerks" (*Touts Irrois et clerics Irrois mendicauntz appelez chaumberdeakyns*—because three or four lived in one room), who are to be voided out of the realm on pain, to lose their goods and to be imprisoned at the king's pleasure. Jack Cade is said to have been an Irishman; and no doubt the army of vagrants had received recruits from that island long before the statute of 1413.

Under Henry VII. vagabondage seems to have been largely reduced, rather by the humaner legislation (the milder penalties for begging being doubtless more fully enforced) than by repressive measures. The stocks are substituted for the gaol in the case of "vagabonds," and for a first conviction the punishment is limited to a day and night, with diet of bread and water. With Henry VIII. came a change. The king's expensive habits told on the whole nation; and, as Mr. Turner says, "careless profusion is a certain progenitor of idleness, and idleness of begging." Then, as always, religious celebrations brought beggars to the front. Harman tells of the funeral in 1521 of "a man of much worshyp in Kent. There was such a number of beggars beside poore housholders dwelling thereabouts that there was prepared for them a great barne, and a great fat ox sod out" (boiled, as this year in a Wilts village) "in furmenty for them, with bread and drinke abundantly; and every person had two pence, for such was the dole. When night approached the pore housholders repaired to their houses, the other wayfaring bold beggars remained alnight in the barne; and the same being serched with light in the night, they told seven score persons of men, every of them having his woman. Thus the buriall was turned to bousing and belly chere, prayer to pastyme and pressing of paps, and lamenting to lechery." We might almost think we were reading a description of a

beggars' kitchen in Hogarth's day, or of a common lodging-house of our own time, so little has "the residuum" changed its ways. At the same time, when the Court itself was infested with "vile persons and mighty beggars and unthrifths and boys and common women," we find, strangely enough, an edict against mummers and "disgyssed persons wearing of visours," followed by one (the first of many) against gipsies.

In 1530 began Henry's "bloody edicts"—beggars without license are to be stripped to the middle and whipped, set in the stocks three days and nights, and then furnished with a license assigning them a limit to beg in. These are the infirm and maimed; valiant (*i.e.*, able-bodied) beggars are to be taken to the nearest market town, and there tied to a cart's-tail, naked, and beaten with whips throughout the town till they are bloody, after which they are to return to the place where they were born, or where they last dwelt for three years, having a pass certifying their punishment and limiting the time within which they must return. In the same category are classed shipmen pretending losses (the "old sailors" of modern times), proctors and pardoners, "professors of palmistry, physiognomy, and other crafty sciences," &c. Copland, in the *Hye Way to the Spyttelhouse* (1534), describes the crowd which then sought admission at St. Bartholomew's, re-endowed by Henry VIII. after the dissolution: "Crooked, lame, blind, scabby, scurvy and lousy; bald as apes, with scarce a rag to cover them—breechless, barefoot, stinking with dirt. Boys, girls, and lazy strong knaves, shivering and distracted, crying, 'Good master, for your mother's blessing, give us a halfpenny towards our lodging.'" Street-begging was then even more profitable than now. Copland, walking to St. Paul's, meets "one mighty lusk" (lusty beggar) "who begged for the sake of the five joys of the Virgin, vowing to recite our Lady's psalter thrice in return. An honest serving-man, after performing his devotions, had compassion on him, and as soon as he was gone the beggar pulled out 11*d.*" (equal to 11*s.* nowadays) "and called his companions to go to dinner, saying it was an unprofitable day." Verily, history in the matter of begging repeats itself. The name of Cripple-gate is older than the Conquest; there lay sham cripples with crutches, and bloody

clouts about their legs, and plasters on their skin, pleading the example of the lame man at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple. Men that wear soldiers' clothes and so deceive the people, and they that pretend they have been in captivity in France and are penniless, were very numerous. For all "valiant beggars" offending the second time, the penalty was a second whipping and the loss of the upper gristle of the right ear. For a third conviction, the punishment was to be put to death as felons. Children above five and under fourteen found begging are to be placed in charge of masters of husbandry or other crafts. No one is to make any doles under a penalty of 10s.; but churchwardens are to gather alms to maintain the impotent and to employ the sturdy beggars, the clergy being commanded to exhort their flocks to contribute. Here is the first hint of a poors'-rate, necessitated by the evident breakdown of the previous Act, owing to the multitudes from whom the suppression of the monasteries had cut off their means of relief. Mr. Turner calculates that, supposing the religious houses devoted a third of their income to the relief of the poor, this would have amounted to 2s. 9d. a head of the population, as against 6s. 4d., the sum raised nowadays by poor-law taxation. He does not note that of that 6s. 4d., at least half is spent in salaries, maintenance of buildings, and "sundries;" many rural parishes receiving back scarcely a fourth of what they pay into the Union.

Under that carnival of greed and misrule, the reign of Edward VI., the law against beggars became fiercer than ever. The Act of 1547, of which Sir J. Cheke, Greek Professor at Cambridge, has the credit, is more than Draconian. Every vagabond refusing work is to be taken before two justices of the peace, who "shall imediately cawse the saide loyterer to be marked with an whott Iron in the brest the marke of V, and adjudge him to the presentor" (the man who offered him work) "to be his slave to have and to hold, he his executors or assignes, for the space of twoo yeres then next following." The slave is to be fed on bread and water or small drink, and such refuse meats as his master thinks fit. He is to be made to work by beating, chaining, or otherwise, however vile the work may be. If he runs away, he is, when caught, to be branded

on the forehead or ball of the cheek with an S. From any one who harbours him the master may recover £10 and costs. Death as a felon is the penalty for running away the second time. Child beggars under fourteen may be forcibly taken as servants, and kept, the males till twenty-four, the females till twenty; their masters are empowered to let, sell, or give their services; and if they run away they become slaves for life.

The Act was, of course, a failure, though the existence among the Harleian MSS. and elsewhere of "passes" with which vagabonds not taken into service were, after branding, sent to their birthplace, proves that it was put in force. The answer to it, and to the general policy of Edward's rapacious courtiers, was "Kett's rising" in East Anglia, and similar risings in other places, the merciless suppression of which, with Italian artillery and German mercenaries (hired out of the wealth of the monasteries), swelled yet more the ranks of beggary. Along with Cheke's Vagrancy Act is a statute re-enacting Henry VIII.'s about the weekly offertory, and providing that "if any able person should frowardly refuse to help the poor, the parson and churchwardens are gently to exhort him, and if he will not be persuaded, the bishop is to send for him to induce and persuade him." This statute is confirmed in the 2nd Philip and Mary (1555), the collectors to be appointed by the parishioners, and those refusing to act being mulcted in 40s. In this reign, we have the testimony of W. Turner, physician to the Duke of Somerset, that "oft-times sick beggers had muche leuer be sick styll with ease and ydlenes, than to be hole and with great payne and labour to earne honestly theyr lyuing." Under Elizabeth the attempt to raise offertory alms is continued, the penalty for refusing to collect being raised to £10, and those refusing to contribute at the bishop's request being bound in £10 to appear at the next general session, *there to be assessed for the relief of the poor*, and imprisoned until they do pay. When the poor of a parish exceed its means of relief, justices may give them a badge and license them to beg within certain limits outside. "Rogues called Egyptians" were the objects of special enactments, being suspected of harbouring "disguised Romish priests," even as now in France they are supposed to act some-

times as German spies. Minstrels were forbidden, lest they should propagate seditious ditties; and unlicensed players, to prevent competition with those attached to the service of the great lords.

London made renewed efforts to get rid of the incubus of beggary, whipping those caught and sending them to their parishes, with such success that in 1581, soon after Twelfth-day, the Recorder "went to Pauls and other places and found not one rogue stirring, so cautious did good labour and good whipping make them." They were probably only hiding, for in 1595 the Lord Mayor appeals to the Lords of the Council for help to prevent the building in Southwark of small tenements let out to beggars. The rents of such tenements were enormously profitable (another parallel with what goes on nowadays); and we find Rice Griffin and John Scrips brought before the Star Chamber for having unlawfully erected such tenements in Hog Lane (now Worship Street) and Shoreditch, "the latter divided into about 17 tenancies inhabited by poore maintained by begging abroad." In 1595 the Privy Council issued a very curious "note on the benefits of observing Fish daies." Fishing is the chief nurse of the navy; the coast towns are depopulated through its decay, and thousands of ropemakers, smiths, &c., as well as carriers and utterers of fish, thrown out of employ and turned to vagrancy, "through the contempt in which eating of fish is fallen."

In the country, Edward Hext, a Somerset J.P. (1596), says "vagrants have waxed so bold that they go about in bands," stealing sheep and oxen, capturing carts of cheeses on the way to a fair, saying boldly "they must not and they will not starve." The fault lies, he thinks, with the lower ministers of justice, who will not bring these men to punishment; "a severe course being needful, so sweet unto them is the liberty of their wicked life; and in truth work they cannot without most extreme pains, by reason their sinews are so benumbed and stiff through idleness."

Elizabeth's poor law was fully formulated in 1597. The overseers were empowered, "with the consent of the justices, to raise weekly or otherwise, by taxation from every occupier in the parish, a convenient stock of flax, hemp, thread, and

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other necessary ware to set the poor on work, and also competent sums of money for the necessary relief of the poor not able to work, and also for the putting out of children to be apprentices ;” and in 1607 this Act, still forming the basis of that present poor law which continental writers say is thoroughly Socialist, was amended by provisions for the due administration of relief, and for the punishment by imprisoning in the House of Correction of those who refuse to work.

With James I. began “the banishment of incorrigible or dangerous rogues to the New found Lande, the Indies, East and West, Fraunce, Germanye, Spayne, and the Lowe Countries.” Whipping and branding were as popular as before, and as ineffectual. “Stanley’s remedye” (he was an Inns of Court gentleman, who turned highwayman under Elizabeth, but repented, and was forgiven by James) is to multiply Houses of Instruction or Correction, and those that will not work in them to be sent to sea (to rid the land of them) or sold to the English plantations. He cites “the good example of a godly and charitable gentleman, one Mr. Harman, of Sutton-Colsill, who, seeing his parish to be pestered extreemly with sturdy beggars and wandring rogues, did take order that they should all be sent to his house, and presently set them to work to gather stones forth of his grounds, and gave them some small reliefe in meat and drink and a penny a day, and held them hard to work, having stout lustie servants to see to them, and afterward he set them to work in his neighbours grounds ; which thing when all the rest of the wandring beggars understood they durst none of them come a begging in that parish, for feare they should be made to work. And for the younger sort of the idle poore in his parish this was such a discipline for them that they did betake themselves to honest labour, and so the true poore were verie much the better releaved.” In 1609 the swarm of street beggars in London was so considerable that the City Companies subscribed, raising the then vast sum of £18,000 to ship them out to Virginia. The scheme failed, as like schemes have so often done, though James, in 1618, wrote from Newmarket to Sir T. Smyth, afterwards Governor of Virginia, desiring that

"divers idle young people that trouble the Court be sent out with the City beggars." Private charity began to limit itself to farthings, first coined in 1613, to supersede Elizabeth's silver three-halfpences and three-farthings, and to compete with the tradesmen's tokens, necessitated by the scarcity of small coin. Under Charles I., Irish poor (ruined by Strafford's wholesale injustice) began to swarm into our western counties. They were brought over at three shillings apiece, and landed secretly in the night. Exactly the same thing happened during the potato famine of 1846-8. Mr. Turner quotes from Superintendent Stockdale of the Cardiff police, that in 1874 the Cork landlords paid 2s. 6d. a head for hundreds who were landed, starving—one dead at the bottom of one of the vessels, many dying shortly after landing; it was the same at Liverpool. Indeed, whenever there has been exceptional distress in Ireland, from Stuart times to the present day, the landlords have always relieved themselves by a process which has largely increased the amount of beggary in this island. Nor has the evil been only temporary. Mr. Boase said at the same time in regard to Newport that "the colliers bring over a return cargo, living ballast, mostly old people *and boys and girls about ten years old*. They are huddled like pigs, and landed in the mud in some obscure part of the river, faint and feverish from want of good fare, and ready to spread contagion into the heart of the kingdom" (p. 270). Of such cargoes, the boys too often became thieves, the girls prostitutes. But, to return to Charles I. The Civil War of course increased the number of idle dissolute vagrants; and in 1656 Elizabeth's statute was re-enacted, with the addition that "fiddlers and minstrels entreating any person to hear them play," were adjudged "rogues and sturdy beggars." At the Restoration the disbanded Puritan army made no addition to the ranks of vagrancy; we remember Lord Macaulay's testimony to the splendid conduct of the 50,000 thus thrown on the world: "None was charged with theft or beggary, and if any workman attracted notice by his diligence and sobriety, he was in all probability one of Oliver's old soldiers."

Under Charles II. was defined the law of settlement, of the absurdity of which the writer can give a striking instance: in a

very small Somerset parish, with absolutely no poor, the law expenses cost in the year 1857 over £70 to settle upon Deptford, where he was then living, a pauper who had never been in Somerset since he was a boy. The abuses of the system of "passes" were endless; the paymaster of St. Giles's tells (p. 242) how, *after* having been sworn before the magistrates, the paupers would bring out trunks and boxes, with fine clothes and plenty of ribbons, which they insist on having carried up Highgate Hill, the Scotch, who are the dirtiest, standing up most stiffly for "their rights." In 1837 a new departure was made, the Poor Law Commissioners directing that relief should be given to vagrants without attention to settlement, and every vagrant be required to perform some work in return for the relief obtained. The plan—it cannot be called a system—failed like its predecessors. It was supplemented by various county systems: Capt. Amyatt's for Dorset (in 1870), Capt. Blandy's for Berks (in 1871), &c. These are worked chiefly by way-tickets with the help of the police; but the results do not seem very encouraging: the number of casual admissions in the Dorset Unions was 11,248 in 1867, only 2,600 in 1873, and 2,490 in 1875. In 1880 it had risen to 13,231; in 1885 it was 8,927, each admission since 1883, when the Casual Poor Act allowed vagrants to be kept two nights, representing twice the number under the previous system (p. 318). Indeed, it is quite clear from Mr. Turner's figures that the amount of vagrancy depends on causes against which the well-meant devices of chief constables are almost wholly powerless.

It is notable that soon after the introduction of workhouses, Defoe protested strongly against them. "Though in appearance beneficial they mix the good and the bad, and too often make reprobates of all alike. . . . If an honest gentleman or trader should leave wife or children unprovided for, what a shocking thing it is to think they must be mixed with vagrants, thieves and nightwalkers. . . . And if any parishioners interfere in their behalf they are sure to be shut up and worse treated for the future" (*Parochial Tyranny*). Defoe's strictures are only too applicable at the present day, when dwellers in the country are constantly tempted to blame the wastefulness and inade-

quacy of the Union system, feeling as they do that the rates taken out of their parishes and largely consumed in salaries would suffice to pay the interest off loans for the building of almshouses or abundantly relieve the poor in their own homes. When even Greenwich Hospital has been for some time discovered to be a costly farce, the system which keeps up at great expense a set of almost useless buildings, each with its official staff, cannot surely be maintained much longer.

Between 1701 when workhouses began, and 1837 when philanthropy seriously took the vagrants in hand, there is little but a wearisome reiteration of punitive statutes, each proving the uselessness of its predecessor by the lament over the increase of beggary which forms its preamble. How the law was administered may be judged from Fielding, who (*Proposal for Effectual Provision for the Poor*, 1753) says: "There's not a Parish in the Liberty of Westminster which doth not raise Thousands annually for the Poor, and there is not a Street in that Liberty which doth not swarm all day with Beggars and all night with Thieves." Of the country, Dudley (1796) writes: "The Traveller never passes near a populous Village without being assailed by Mendicants, encouraged under that general Relief which Officers indiscreetly give to Paupers." In London, many parishes farmed their poor, allowing weekly 6s. or 7s. a head; and these were by their farmers regularly sent out to beg, their earnings averaging at least as much more as the sum allowed by the overseers. A beggar's lodging-house then was much like the same sort of place now, except that free lodgings, free breakfasts, and other attempts at helping (mischievous, Mr. Turner believes them all to be) were unknown. Always the children have been the difficulty in dealing with confirmed vagrants. What the Liverpool overseer in 1846 replied to Mr. Rushton is universally true. "It's a very bad case; send her to gaol," said the magistrate. "She has six children, and if she's sent to gaol I must take them, and it will be a great loss to me." So, in spite of the Vagrant Act, the woman was let off with a reprimand to bring up her family as hereditary beggars (p. 259).

In 1854 this evil was sought to be counteracted by making reformatories and industrial schools available for vagrant

children in Scotland, and in 1857 the Act was by Sir Stafford Northcote extended to England. Nevertheless, though the abnormal influx consequent on the Irish famine had long ceased, vagrancy went on increasing; and in 1871 Lord Kimberley brought in a Bill for making the Houseless Poor Act of 1864 more stringent. When the subject was discussed in the House in 1882, Sir Baldwin Leighton showed from the returns of ten typical Unions that the average increase in "casuals," from 1876 to 1881, was 300 per cent., *and of these a fifth were discharged soldiers, of whom a quarter were Reserve men.* His contention (in which he was supported by Mr. H. Fletcher) was that the short service system, by de-industrializing young men, is as fruitful a source of vagrancy as trade depression or any kindred cause. Mr. Turner does not confine himself to England; but there is little to help us in the experience of foreign countries.

One of the saddest features of vagrancy is that it follows our race to new lands. In India the loafer is only too well known, though happily his trade is not so thriving as in the days succeeding the Mutiny, when the terror of a white face was enough to exact from a village the best the poor poople had to give. He exists in Australia (where the bush-vagrant is distinct from the town larrikin), and in New Zealand, where he is sometimes a terror to outlying farmers. In America he is embodied in regular brigades, supposed to amount to a total of half a million, and ready whenever Socialists or anarchists or what not are trying to put a spoke in the wheel of public order!

Enough on a sad subject which has hitherto been a standing *crux* to the philanthropist. Mr. Ribton-Turner ends as he began, by accentuating the difference between begging and vagrancy. The vagrant has at various periods been a labourer, forced by social oppression or by some great national calamity to lead a wandering life; whereas "the history of begging is from first to last a history of craft on the part of the beggar, of credulity on that of his supporters." As was Nicholas Genings, who in 1567 told the Londoners: "I am a hat-maker by my occupation, and I came from Leicester to seeke worke, and all my money is spent, and if I could get money to paye for my lodging this night I wold seeke worke to-morrow amongst the

hatters ;" so are too many of " the unemployed " of whom we have lately been hearing so much. They are unemployed because they do not wish to be employed ; and to meet their sad tale with a small money gift " does [our author says] no more to rescue them from pauperism than does the casting of chips of wood to save a drowning man." His remedy is in the Dutch plan of extending to adults of the reformatory system. Let work-houses be real houses of work, let oakum-picking and stone-breaking be reserved for the recalcitrant, and let the " patients " (it is Mr. Turner's word) be set to such work as they are fit for, the duration of the reformatory process depending on the degree of curability of the patient. " The powers of detention would have to be elastic enough to admit of the speedy return to social life of those whose cases appeared to justify it, and the speedy re-incarceration of those who abused the confidence placed in them." Mr. Turner believes that there would be but a very small residuum, a cure being sooner or later effected in the vast majority of cases. As to the incorrigibles, " it is surely better," he argues, " that such moral lepers should be under restraint than that they should roam at large, not only to do mischief on their own account, but also to propagate their evil influences "—educating the young, for instance, in some of the worst forms of depravity. For such adult reformatories he does not expect the State to do more than it now does for industrial schools. " If the plan will bear the test of experiment, it will receive the support of philanthropic people ;" and, clearly, its success depends on its diverting into its own coffers the sum given to beggars, which in 1821 was estimated by Mr. Barrow, Secretary of the Kendal Committee for Suppressing Vagrancy, at three millions a year, and is probably at least as large now. If part of this vast sum (which, we must remember, is exclusive of the cost of workhouses and gaols) was devoted to promoting co-operation among the East-End workers, we should not have women making paper bags at a penny per thousand, and matchboxes at $2\frac{1}{4}d.$ per gross, while the middlemen who are over them amass large fortunes. " The idle penny or sixpence " simply makes the recipient hunger for more, without in the least helping to lift him out of his wretchedness. But this " idle " money is amply sufficient, not indeed

to raise people's palaces, which are no boon at all to those who most need lifting up, but to start and keep going a scheme which (applicable to all our big towns) would permanently improve the condition of the very poor and would give the improveable a chance of amendment. Here is a work, says Mr. Ribton-Turner, which may well rank with the noblest examples of missionary effort; and in advocating this he is as severe as Mr. Mayhew himself on "that never-failing stock-in-trade of the beggar, the credulity of the charitable. . . . Like the London sharper's confidence-trick, the very staleness and antiquity of the beggar's dodges give them a sanctity in the eyes of many, a sanctity derived from the belief that others might be deceived by counterfeits, but that I cannot." Certainly the tricks—the "genuine ketchup" made of "cattle-market mushrooms" (decayed pigs' livers); the sham brandy or lace of the sham smuggler, have seldom the recommendation of novelty; yet Mr. Gomm, of the Mendicity Society, reckons the average daily earnings of the "professional" at from 5s. to 20s. The very institutions which at first sight seem necessary to alleviate the misery of great cities, only tend in Mr. Ribton-Turner's opinion to perpetuate it. "Night refuges promote vagrancy" (p. 313); but when he says that "the casual wards of workhouses are available for all such cases," he is surely making a statement not always borne out by facts. Free soup-tickets he classes with bread, coal, blanket, and other charities; "they all have a market value in spirits at the public-houses, and are used as authoritative licenses to beg for the penny which has to accompany them to the counter. . . . A man has been watched getting nine pennies with one soup-ticket. . . . Even the class above the most thriftless learns how much easier it is to live at others' expense than by their own labour." At Coventry, the "halfpenny dinner" caused a vast increase in juvenile mendicancy—"very few of the halfpennies found their way to the dinner-room." In fact, our author drives the carelessly benevolent from one retreat after another, proving that even the schemes which seem most unquestionable are liable to and constantly lead to the grossest abuse. If you support a free soup-kitchen or a halfpenny dinner-room you are very probably doing harm; if you give a penny to a beggar, no matter how specious the tale, how evident the signs of distress, you are

certainly doing harm; even if you make inquiries, you are pretty sure to be deceived. This is discouraging; it is enough to dry up the springs of charity. But Mr. Turner gives us not merely his own experience, which is that he never met with a beggar who was driven to beg by sheer want or misfortune, nor have any of his friends ever found such a case (p. 670), but he cites the authority of the late Mr. Hornsby Wright (author of *Confessions of an Old Almsgiver*), to whom a working man once fiercely said: "Considering who gets the lion's share, I'd die on a doorstep before I'd accept dirty alms;" and that of the late coroner, Dr. Hardwicke, who "never met with a case of starvation arising from inability to obtain the necessaries of life, but often from inability to utilize them, brought about by debauchery or by disease engendered by debauchery. . . . Of course people do die of slow starvation, but inquests are never held on them, because they have died a lingering death in the course of nature."

We confess we think Mr. Ribton-Turner's statement too sweeping. He admits that social oppression and national calamity have driven, and therefore may drive, the honest workman into vagrancy; and surely it is hard to distinguish between the effects of such oppression in its coarser forms and the equally remorseless working of such a system as that which floods our labour market with Polish Jew tailors, who ruin the English workman with low wages, and who are such absolute slaves that their masters lock up their clothes on Sunday for fear they'd run away. Into the great questions, however, between labour and capital we have no intention of entering; a new adjustment, if it could be established, would not of itself have any great effect on the "residuum." As to the sufficiency of existing modes of relief, an important letter appeared in the *Times* of Nov. 10 from Mr. W. M. Ackworth, on the inequality of casual ward accommodation in the metropolis (the Strand and other Unions have none), and on the mistake of supplementing this with relief tickets. Of the treatment of casuals the reports are very varied, the secretary of the Samaritan Society being contradicted point-blank by the master of St. George's, Hanover Square. Up to 1863 the custom in some London parishes was (p. 299) to souse the vagrants with cold water as they stood waiting for admission. One thing is certain, the

tramp is far oftener the just object of pity than philanthropists of Mr. Turner's school imagine. In the words of Mr. J. T. Graves (*Poor Law Inspectors' Reports on Vagrancy*), "many could not if they would take any effective step to escape from their condition. Outcasts from society by their crimes or vices, or unpleasant ways, or unbearable temper, they would seek in vain for employment. What decent labourer would work with such a vagabond?" No doubt it is true that "tramps are for the most part, if not criminals, at least on the verge of crime." Individual effort, on the plan of Dr. Barnardo's Homes, extended so as to take in grown people,* seems the only way of satisfactorily dealing with this residuum. Legislation has been abundantly tried, from the days till now, and has always failed. The stock-in-trade of the tramp, so well described long ago by Mr. Horace Mayhew, has of course grown with civilization; but it is of the same kind as it was in the Middle Ages. Of the tramp himself Mr. Ribton-Turner's judgment is: "he was in the first instance largely the offspring of harsh and repressive laws; now he is the noxious parasite fostered by indiscriminate and baneful charity." His remedy, as we have said, is houses of industry for vagabond adults. It would be hard to find a better one.

ART. VIII.—MR. FRITH'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

My Autobiography and Reminiscences. By W. P. FRITH, R.A., Chevalier of the Legion of Honour and of the Order of Leopold, &c. Second Edition. In Two Volumes. London: Richard Bentley & Son. 1887.

"**A**LAS for the frailness of memory!" cries Mr. Frith, lamenting his inability to recall the sparkling anecdotes told at a dinner party at Lord Northwick's. It is a cry that issues involuntarily from many a man who looks

* Such are Fredericksort and the other Dutch pauper colonies.

back to the brilliant gatherings of former days, with regret that he has lost the good things of bygone banquets, and cannot pick up even the crumbs from the carpet of memory. But Mr. Frith's readers will probably take another view of the matter, and be thankful that the author's recollection has been so bright as to enable him to set forth, for the delectation of a hungry public, these seven or eight hundred dishes of choice viands in the shape of racy anecdote and interesting reminiscence. Should he ever be troubled with fears that his faculties are failing, he will have but to turn to the pages of his own books, and so renew his youth and keep his memory green.

To the artistic aspirant these volumes are especially valuable, containing as they do the ripe wisdom and kindly advice of an experienced and successful painter—wisdom acquired in years of persevering labour and plentiful rebuff. We do not know whether it will encourage or deter the young craftsman to learn that even Mr. Frith, notwithstanding his rapidly developed talent and his well-earned rise to high rank in his profession, would actually have starved for want of patrons and purchasers, had he not had a good mother with an income sufficient to feed the lamp of genius with the needful oil. If such was the case with him in those early days when artists were comparatively few, and buyers were in fair proportion to producers, how must it be with the nascent Apelles or Zeuxis of the present day, when rivals come in troops, and the market is overstocked with pictures, and prices, though extravagantly high for works that have won a wide reputation, are miserably low for the canvases of the struggling unknown multitude, however brilliant their promise? On the other hand, there is here much to cheer the young painter in the hours of neglect and rejection incident to every apprentice to his honourable calling. Mr. Frith presents him, in his own person, with a remarkable instance of genuine success, crowning years of steady, plodding hopefulness. In fact, upon those who are endowed with the proper amount of that special adaptation for art which we call "genius," the beauty and necessity of hard work are here inculcated in as telling a manner as that of Mr. Smiles himself. Mr. Frith's

only regret is that in early life he did not so well appreciate certain advantages, which seemed to imply more drudgery than his ardent spirit could bend to, but which, he now thinks, would have qualified him to produce work of a higher class. And in this he breathes the true artistic spirit—not foolishly depreciating his own paintings, which have given pleasure to a world of admirers, but feeling how far—and it is the common lot—he has fallen short of his own ideal. Still, it must be ample consolation to know that he has done well and thoroughly the class of work on which his reputation rests.

The determining incident which gave the direction to Mr. Frith's career took place in the winter of 1830. Sitting one evening in his father's inn at Harrogate, a boy in his twelfth year, he took it into his head to try to copy an engraving of a dog—probably, he thinks, for the sake of being allowed to stay up an hour later than usual. However that might be, he has no doubt about the motive which prompted his second attempt. He received sixpence for the attack on the dog, and was promised a similar reward for another effort. Henceforth he was considered to be the genius of the family, and his schoolmasters were told that all other learning must be held secondary to the cultivation of this great gift. But here it fell out clean contrary to the common course of juvenile predilections. When his time came for his future profession to be decided on—instead of the boy being bent on becoming an artist, and the stern parent wanting to chain him to the desk or the counter, according to all orthodox precedent—Frith junior aspired to wield the auctioneer's hammer, while his father, proud of his artistic prowess, wished him to handle the palette and the brush. The domestic discussions on the important point are well given in brief by Mr. Frith, and would have furnished Sterne with a long chapter for *Tristram Shandy*. The matter was decided by father and son travelling up to London—no inconsiderable venture in those days—and having the boy's performances submitted to the judgment of some artist. Accordingly they were supposed to be shown to the brothers Chalon, Royal Academicians; and the opinion—which it seems doubtful whether they ever gave—being reported as favourable, the die was cast, and young Frith was conducted

by his worthily ambitious father to Mr. Henry Sass's School of Art. In this connection our author strongly advises the artist, when chosen arbiter of the fate of the young aspirant, to be dumb as the oracle of old.

"Except in the rarest and most exceptional cases, judgment from early specimens is absolutely impossible. Consider the quality of mind and body requisite for a successful artistic career—long and severe study from antique statues, from five to eight hours every day; then many months' hard work from the life, with attendance at lectures, study of perspective, anatomy, &c.; general reading to be attended to also—all this before painting is attempted, and when attempted the student may find he has no eye for colour. I do not mean colour-blind, which is of course fatal, but that he is not appreciative of all the subtle hints and tones of flesh; or, what is more fearful still, he may find that he has all the language of art at his fingers' ends, and that he has nothing to say. . . . Composition and arrangement of the colours, and light and shadow, necessary in a group of more or less figures, cannot be taught, or if taught by line and rule the result is nil; the whole thing is a matter of feeling and imagination. An artist must see his picture finished in his mind's eye before he begins it, or he will never be an artist at all."

At Sass's young Frith went through two years' tedious but helpful training, and saw a good deal of the leading artists and other distinguished men of the time. At one memorable dinner, among the guests were Eastlake, Constable, Wilkie, Etty, and Chantrey. The great landscape painter—who was far from being fully appreciated in his own generation—told this anecdote, in illustration of his assertion that "ignorant" opinion as to pictures was worthless:

"A nobleman (whose name I forget) had commissioned Constable to paint a landscape of a beautiful part of the country surrounding a certain castle, the seat of the noble lord. The picture was to be both a landscape and a portrait of the castle, and a large summer-house was allotted as a studio for the painter, who made many studies, and indeed painted one or two pictures from adjacent scenery. The walls of the summer-house had been newly covered with a gorgeous paper representing flowers, trees, rocks, &c. On this wall hung an empty gold frame, and Constable declared that the gardener, whose opinion he had asked upon his work generally, after making a variety of idiotic remarks, said, looking at the empty frame hanging on the wall—through which the wall-paper appeared as a picture—'*That's a lovely pictur', sir; that's more finished, that is; more what I like.*'"

One of Frith's fellow-pupils for a time was Jacob Bell, whose patience was sorely tried by having to draw from the flat, and was utterly exhausted when he came to the rendering of the "fearful" plaster ball; on the centre of which, one Monday morning, after witnessing an execution at Newgate, he drew the scaffold and the criminal hanging on it, and was expounding the fatal scene to a deeply interested group of students, when Sass himself appeared, and, after leaving the room, as was his wont, in order to calm his excitable spirit, addressed the young Quaker thus:—

"Sir, Mr. Bell; sir, your father placed you under my care for the purpose of making an artist of you. I can't do it; I can make nothing of you. I should be robbing your father *if I did it*. You had better go, sir; such a career as this, pointing to the man hanging, 'is a bad example to your fellow-pupils. You must *leave, sir!*'"

"All right," said Bell, and away he went to the druggist's shop established by his father in Oxford Street, where he made a large fortune, devoting it mainly to the encouragement of art and artists, and dying prematurely, beloved and regretted by all who knew him.

"It is reported of his father, a rigid Quaker, who watched with disapproval his son's purchases of pictures, that he said to him one day:

"What business hast thou to buy those things, wasting thy substance?"

"I can sell any of *those things* for more than I gave for them, some for twice as much."

"Is that verily so?" said the old man. "Then I see no sin in thy buying more."

Leaving for a time Sass's School of Art, Frith became a student at the Royal Academy, and after some more hard work at drawing from the antique, entered the Life School, and was allowed to begin to use the brush. Returning to Sass to take his first step in painting, he found the new occupation a grateful change from manipulating Italian chalk; especially when his stern Mentor allowed him to paint from Nature instead of copies. Now at length he felt real enjoyment in his work. With one of the Sass boys for a model, he painted his first exhibited picture, which he sent to the "British Institution," where, to his great delight, it was *hung*—though it was at the *top* of the room.

Now he set himself to paint any one whom he could per-

suade to sit to him. A good-natured uncle and aunt went through the ordeal themselves, and persuaded some of their friends to do likewise ; which was all the easier to effect, because the idea had never as yet entered Frith's mind that any one would be " fool enough " to pay money for his performances. An old gentleman, however, had seen one of these portraits, and gave him his first commission, offering him five pounds to make as good a likeness of him as he had done of his other victim. This, again, was seen by a Lincolnshire farmer, who was so struck with it, that he invited the young painter to come to his house and paint himself, and any others that might " follow suit," at the rate of five pounds per head, ten for a kitcat, fifteen for a half-length. He went accordingly, and spent four months in painting portraits in Lincolnshire, going from house to house among the higher class of gentlemen farmers, enjoying good treatment and pleasant society, and yet losing no time, for he was getting fine practice and gaining solid experience in his art. Amongst his sitters were some amusing characters. Here is a sketch of an eccentric old lady :—

" After finishing my work at the [N—s', I betook myself, bag and baggage, to a neighbouring farmhouse, where fresh faces awaited my attention. The Grange was a large farm, held under Lord Yarborough by a Mr. F—, who possessed a pretty little wife and a small old mother-in-law, whose characteristic countenance made me long to paint it. In her youth Mrs. B—, who was the widow of a bluff sea-captain, of Hull, had been a great beauty. She was now very old, and amongst other eccentricities had a habit of thinking aloud, and invariably on the same subject—personal appearance. Very embarrassing, because any new face was sure to produce an immediate criticism, favourable or the reverse. I arrived very late at the Grange, and was shown into the drawing-room, where a young clergyman was reading prayers, and the visitors and family were kneeling in various directions. The old lady was allowed to pray sitting, seemingly ; and when I appeared and immediately knelt down with the rest, she interrupted the clergyman by some words which I did not catch ; but judging from the shaking of several of the worshippers' shoulders, and the great difficulty the reader had in going on with the service, they evidently were of a droll tendency. It was not till the next day that Mr. F— explained the situation. The fact was that no sooner did the old lady catch sight of me, than she exclaimed : ' Well, *he's* no beauty.' "

"She was an amusing sitter. With regard to her own portrait, she was only anxious that a large miniature likeness of her husband, which she wore as a brooch, should be faithfully rendered. 'O, mister!' she said; 'you haven't caught the captain's eye. It was a *beautiful blue*, not like *that*; *THAT'S GREEN!*'

"She was, however, quite content with my rendering of her delightful old face—her cheeks streaked like a winter apple."

Next Mr. Frith tried his hand at a "subject picture," and, after unutterable throes, produced a small composition—two lovers—which he sent to the Liverpool Exhibition, where, to his amazement and delight, this child of his imagination sold for fifteen pounds. Being a great reader of Scott, he selected a subject from the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, painted it with much labour, and was favoured with some severe criticisms, which he faithfully records. Then followed "Madge Wildfire dragging Jeanie Deans up the centre aisle of the church," which succeeded better. Next Shakespeare was attempted—"Othello and Desdemona;" the former being painted from an East Indian crossing-sweeper, and Desdemona from the artist's sister; "the result being a resemblance to the models from whom I drew the characters, and none whatever to the characters that Shakespeare drew." "Othello" was sent to the British Gallery, and was hung in a good place; while "Rebecca and Ivanhoe," a much better picture, was rejected; "being," he tells us, "the only picture I have ever had rejected from any exhibition."

So he went on, climbing—slowly, it seemed to him, no doubt—the arduous hill of art. He was only twenty-one when his first Academy picture was exhibited—"Malvolio, cross-gartered before the Countess Olivia." In the same exhibition of 1840 Maclise's rendering of the same subject found a place, and is now in the National Gallery, "of which," says Mr. Frith, "it is, I think, an ornament; where mine is I know not, but it could scarcely be considered an ornament anywhere." The young painter was, of course, gratified by being "hung" in such illustrious precincts. But this kind of glory did not provide the sinews of war.

"I had never, up to 1840, received a farthing for any of my pictures. After my Liverpool fifteen pound triumph, I either gave them away to

people who didn't want them, but were too polite to refuse them, or I sold them to people who forgot to pay even the modest sum demanded.

"The 'Madge Wildfire' became the property of an artist friend, who never paid for it, because, as he said, when I remonstrated, 'I couldn't sell it, and was obliged to change it for a piano for my sister, and the piano hasn't got a note to its back.'

"The 'Malvolio' was bought by a picture dealer for twenty pounds, and he became a bankrupt immediately afterwards."

Fortunately he now had another call for portraits of Lincolnshire people, and another pleasant provincial pilgrimage. Then came his first *real* metropolitan success—real, that is, in the sense of providing the realities of bread and cheese. *The Vicar of Wakefield* was just then attracting a host of illustrators, and Frith, to be in the fashion, painted a good picture of a scene therefrom, which was hung upon the line, and was bought for a hundred guineas on the "private view" day. Here was success brilliant enough to turn a young painter's head; but it was a little toned down by the criticism of a leading paper, beginning: "Mr. Frith is a rising artist, and he has already risen to the height of affectation," &c.

This leads Mr. Frith to impart some philosophical advice on a ticklish subject:

"I would here advise all artists, young and old, never to read art criticism. Nothing is to be learnt from it. Let me ask any painter if, when he wants advice upon any difficulty in the conduct of his work, he would seek it from an art critic? No, I reply for him; he would apply to an artist friend. But though, as I believe, no advantage accrues in any case to an artist from public criticism, much undeserved pain is often inflicted, and even injury caused, by the virulent attacks that often disgrace the press. For very many years—indeed, ever since I became convinced of the profound ignorance of the writers—I have never read a word of art criticism. 'That accounts for your not painting better,' I hear the critic say. I think not; but I have no doubt saved myself from a good deal of annoyance."

This is very well, so far as the artist's peace of mind is concerned—that is, if he can prevent "candid" friends from inflicting their own stinging criticisms, or retailing those of others. But how would it be if authors were to pursue the

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same plan, and to ignore the criticisms of the press, whether just or unjust? Both writer and painter must, we think, still drain the bitter draught, trusting to time to turn it into a tonic to nerve them for future exertions. Yet we grant that both in art and literature the critic's pen has too often been the vehicle of spite and jealousy, and has caused undeserved pain and real injury to many a struggling, sensitive man of genius.

Mr. Frith's next picture—a large composition, from *The Merry Wives of Windsor*—was not so fortunate as his "line" one. The artist and his friends thought well of it; it had cost him many months' hard work; and the three "hanging" Academicians rewarded him by placing it very high in the Octagon Room—"in the worst room's worst light." At the close of the Exhibition he sent it to Liverpool, where it found a purchaser for £100. With the usual ups and downs of artist—and, indeed, of more prosaic—life, his next works, embodying various presentments of Dickens's "Dolly Varden," sold readily, though for small sums, and, best of all, brought him a commission from the popular author himself; who, when his pictures—"Dolly Varden" and "Kate Nickleby"—were finished, paid the young painter a visit, and is thus described:—

"See me, then, in hourly and very trembling expectation of a visit from a man whom I thought superhuman. A knock at the door. 'Come in.' Enter a pale young man, with long hair, a white hat, a formidable stick in his left hand, and his right extended to me with a frank cordiality and a friendly clasp that never relaxed till the day of his untimely death.

"The pictures were on the easel. He sat down before them, and I sat waiting for the verdict in an agony of mind that was soon relieved by his cheery—

"'All I can say is, they are exactly what I meant, and I am very much obliged to you for painting them for me.'"

Dickens gave him a cheque for £40 for the two pictures, and he may well be pardoned for mentioning that the pair were sold at Christie's, after the owner's death, for *thirteen hundred guineas*—a result due in some degree to their ownership and associations, but still more to their undoubted merit and the remarkable rise in art prices.

Of Dickens's rival, Thackeray, Mr. Frith did not get so favourable an impression; and from his account of their first interview we cannot wonder at it. The great man, doubtless, had a kind heart, but he was not always happy in his way of showing its quality; and certainly in this instance he was rudely jocose at the young artist's expense:

"Of course, I often met Thackeray afterwards, but I never gave him an opportunity for renewing his playful attacks. I know very well that Thackeray was much beloved by those who knew him intimately, and I have often been abused by some of his friends (notably by dear Leech) for my absurd anger at what was meant for a joke; but I submit that such attacks on an inoffensive stranger were very poor jokes, and even after the long lapse of time I feel humiliated and pained in recording them."

Now success opened up in many directions. A good purchaser presented himself in Mr. Gibbons, a Birmingham banker, who bought pictures for the pure love of them, and not, as they are bought nowadays, for investment and with a lottery-like greed. Then Frith found himself, to his profound astonishment, elected Associate of the Royal Academy. This elevation led to some amusing experiences, when he proceeded to call—as was then the custom of the newly elected members—on the veteran Academicians, to make their acquaintance and thank them for their support:

"One candid old gentleman, who told me he had known Sir Joshua Reynolds, immediately denied all complicity in my election. 'Not, my dear young man, that you may not deserve your good fortune—I cannot say, for I have never seen any of your work.' Many of the Forty were either from home, or pretended to be; but I caught Mr. H. W. Pickersgill, the well-known and accomplished portrait-painter of that period, and who then lived in Soho Square. He received me very kindly, and in the middle of an eloquent exhortation as to my future conduct Mrs. Pickersgill entered the room. She was a very handsome old lady, with a ravishing smile and beautiful teeth—so wonderfully beautiful as to raise doubts as to their origin. I was instantly introduced to her.

"'This young gentleman, my dear, is Mr. Frith.'

"'Well!' said Mrs. Pickersgill.

"'Mr. Frith, my dear, was elected an Associate of the Royal Academy the other evening.'

"'Well!' replied the lady, 'he is no better for that.'"

His next picture was the well-known "Old English Merry-

making," which he sold to a dealer for £350, and which gained a kindly compliment from Turner, in whose behalf he says a few words that are pleasant to read :

"I have heard him described as surly, miserly, and ill-natured ; as a man who never said an encouraging word to young men, and who was always a severe critic. I know nothing of the truth or falsehood of the miserly charge ; but I do know that Turner's treatment of young men, and his kindness in expressing his opinion of all contemporary work, were in exact opposition to the general notion of his disposition. When the 'Merry-making' was being exhibited, I was one of a large party at dinner at Vice-Chancellor Sir James Wigram's. All present were older and superior to myself, and I was startled out of my usual silence by Lee, R.A., who called to me from the other end of the table, asking if I knew what Turner had said of my picture.

" 'No, sir,' said I, feeling myself turn red and pale alternately.

" 'He says it is beautifully drawn, well composed, and well coloured.' "

"If I write anything in these pages that I cannot vouch for, I always warn my readers ; and I am not certain whether Turner said to the gentleman who is usually called the great art critic, 'My dear sir, if you only knew how difficult it is to paint even a decent picture, you would not say the severe things you do of those who *fail*.' But this was attributed to him."

Mention of "the great art critic" leads to a good story of David Roberts' *rencontre* with that gentleman, and of his striking way of putting the great man's semi-apology in a practical shape :

"In the exercise of his high calling, friendship for a painter was not allowed to bias the critic's judgment of his pictures ; and though David Roberts, R.A., was the intimate personal friend of the critic, his works found so little favour with the brilliant writer, that in one of the annual notices of the Exhibition they received a very savage castigation. Feeling, perhaps, that Roberts might find it difficult to reconcile an attempt to do him a serious injury with the usual interpretation of the term friendship, the critic wrote a private note to the artist, explaining his action on the hypothesis of a self-imposed duty to the public, and concluded his note by the expression of a hope that severe criticism would not interfere with the sincere feeling of friendship which the writer hoped would always exist, &c. &c. To this Roberts replied that the first time he met the critic he would give him a *sound thrashing* ; and he ventured to 'hope that a broken head would not interfere with the sincere feeling of friendship which he hoped would always exist,' &c. &c."

Here we have another glimpse of Turner, and a taste of his

dry humour, at an Academy luncheon on a varnishing day—one of those "sublime" occasions when the young Associate saw gathered round the table "the greatest artists of the country; venerable figures most of them"—in his eyes "an assembly of gods":

"On one occasion the luncheon was half over, when a new-comer arrived in a condition of considerable excitement.

"'Why, Reinagle,' said Turner, as the late arrival prepared to take a seat by the great landscape-painter, 'where have you been? You were not in the rooms this morning.'

"'Been, sir?' said Reinagle (who was what is vulgarly called 'half-cracked'); 'I have been in the City. I have invented a railway to go up and down Cheapside. Omnibuses will be done away with. I shall make millions, and'—looking round the table—'I will give you all commissions.' Then looking aside at Turner, who sat next to him, 'And I will give *you* a commission if you will tell me which way to hang the picture up when I get it.'

"'You may hang it just as you please,' said Turner, 'if you only pay for it.'"

"Half-cracked" as Reinagle may have been, there was method in his madness. Mr. Frith justly observes:

"Turner was, without doubt, the greatest landscape-painter that ever lived; but so mysterious were some of his last productions, so utterly unlike Nature to my eyes, that I should almost be inclined to agree with Reinagle, that they would look as well the wrong way up as the right way. Strange as it may sound, it is absolutely true that I have heard Turner ridicule some of his own later works quite as skilfully as the newspapers did. For example, at a dinner when I was present, a salad was offered to Turner, who called the attention of his neighbour at the table (Jones Lloyd, afterwards Lord Overstone) to it in the following words: 'Nice cool green, that lettuce, isn't it? and the beetroot pretty red—not quite strong enough; and the mixture, delicate tints of yellow that. Add some mustard, and then you have one of my pictures.' It was, and always will be, a puzzle to me how a man whose earlier works are the wonder and admiration of all who see them, could have reconciled himself to the production of beautiful phantasmagoria, representing nothing in 'the heavens above, or on the earth beneath.' And what is still more wonderful is, that people can be found to admire, and buy them at such enormous prices."

Mr. Frith's next picture of note, the "Coming of Age," was well placed at the Academy, and favourably noticed by the press generally. But the caustic Thackeray, desiring the

more frequent illustration of modern life—in that day not so overdone as in ours—asked “Why, when a man comes of age, it should be thought desirable that he should come of the age of Elizabeth?” and another cynic suggested that it would have been better if “such an ill-drawn idiotic youth” as the heir had been cut off in infancy, and so had never come of age at all.

In due time, Mr. Frith attained to the full dignity of R.A., and became a member of the Hanging Committee—that awful tribunal, which has wielded such power over the destinies of the young unknown artist. That its members, if incorruptible, are sometimes perceptibly swayed by friendship or nationality, we have amusing proof in the following anecdote :

“David Roberts, a thoroughly kind-hearted Scotchman, being newly elected, was placed on the Hanging Committee—his brother hangmen being Mulready and Abraham Cooper. The arrangement of the pictures had proceeded harmoniously enough, the Englishmen only finding it necessary now and then to moderate the enthusiasm of their fellow hangman in favour of some work that had little to recommend it beyond the fact that it was done by Mac Somebody, when luncheon time arrived. Roberts was not hungry, could not eat luncheon. Mulready and Cooper must have been exceptionally so, for they were an unusually long time away from the rooms. In the interval, Roberts, with the assistance of the carpenters, had emulated the busy bee, the result being a goodly array of Scottish pictures in all the best places.

“‘Good gracious, Roberts!’ said Cooper. ‘Why, you have turned this room into Scotland Yard.’

“Mulready beckoned to the carpenters, and said :

“‘Take all these pictures down again!’

“Roberts remonstrated.

“Said Mulready : ‘Friendship is noble ; but when it is indulged to the injury of others, all the nobility goes to the winds. Take them every one down.’

“‘Then,’ said Roberts, ‘if I am to be treated in this way, and my judgment disputed, I may as well go home.’

“‘Much better,’ was the reply, and home Roberts went. The two men were members of the Academy for more than thirty years after this little dispute, and I grieve to say they never spoke to each other again.”

It was not till 1851 that Mr. Frith, “weary of costume-painting,” resolved to try his hand on modern life, notwithstanding the want of picturesqueness in our degenerate attire.

Spending his summer holiday on Ramsgate sands, he was attracted by the variety of character arrayed before him; and finally began to sketch some of the groups, which were found unconsciously forming themselves into very "paintable" compositions. So his large picture, "Ramsgate Sands," grew into existence, was exhibited in due course, and gained golden opinions from the Queen and a large proportion of her subjects. It did not, however, meet the taste of moneyed "patrons" or collectors, but was sold to a firm of picture-dealers for a thousand guineas. In 1858 his famous picture of the "Derby Day" was finished, and attracted eager crowds—non-political—to Trafalgar Square. This was followed, in 1862, by "The Railway Station," for which he received the large sum of £4,500 from "the great" Flatow—besides a subsequent £750, in consideration of his resigning the right to exhibit the picture at the Royal Academy. He had arranged to paint three companion pictures of London street scenes for Mr. Gambart for £10,000, when he received intimation of the Queen's wish that he should depict the approaching marriage of the Prince of Wales, which he agreed to do for £3,000—by no means an unreasonable sum. In a very amusing chapter he records the sayings and doings of the distinguished persons who sat to him for representation in this admirable picture. Want of space precludes us from quoting many racy bits; but the following are irresistible:

"When the Lord Chancellor (Westbury) sat for me, his eye caught the form of the Bishop of Oxford, and he said: 'Ah! Sam of Oxford. I should have thought it impossible to produce a tolerably agreeable face, and yet preserve any resemblance to the Bishop of Oxford.' And when the Bishop saw my portrait of Westbury, he said: 'Like him? Yes; but not wicked enough.'"

"The Bishop of Chester came to London on purpose to sit for me. I only troubled him twice, and he sat so patiently that his portrait is one of the most like of all. He had a very characteristic face, and a very long neck. The Bishop of Oxford told me the Bishops called him their 'Neck-or-nothing brother.'"

Among Mr. Frith's later pictures are "The Salon d'Or," "The Road to Ruin," "The Race for Wealth," "For Better, for Worse," and "The Private View." The last-mentioned

was, as our readers will remember, one of the great attractions in the Exhibition of 1883; its numerous groups of well-known people—statesmen, judges, authors, musicians, painters, actors, and beauties—portrayed to the life, exciting much public interest. In the chapter recording its appearance occasion is found for presenting some specimens of ready wit; one of the neatest being Bernal Osborne's reply to Mr. Frith, who, having been complimented by the former on a successful picture, had returned the compliment with interest in regard to a brilliant speech just delivered by the eloquent M.P. "I will tell you what," retorted Osborne, "I will exchange my tongue for your palette."

Among the many illustrious men commemorated in these pleasant volumes we are glad to find mention of an old friend and valued contributor to this Review, the late Dr. Doran, to whom Mr. Frith devotes a most interesting chapter, and of whom he says: "My remembrance of his kindness to me on all occasions, my respect for his talents, and my love for the man will abide with me so long as 'memory holds her seat'"—a sentence which does honour as well to Mr. Frith as to the genial and much-lamented Doctor.'

In our confined space we have been able to do but scant justice to Mr. Frith's first appearance as an author. We refer all readers in search of valuable information and wholesome amusement to the work itself. There they will find a rich collection of anecdotes, bright pictures of bygone days, a modest outline of a highly successful career, clever sketches of life and character, as well as many aspects of artist life into which the outside world finds little opportunity of initiation. The concluding sentence of the book is well worthy to be treasured by the young artists of to-day: "Keep in view the honoured names of the great painters of old, study their works, and, convincing yourselves that they were produced by simple, earnest, loving study of Nature, endeavour to 'go and do likewise.'"

SHORT REVIEWS AND BRIEF NOTICES.

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS.

The Creator, and what we may know of the Method of Creation :

The Fernley Lecture of 1887. By W. H. DALLINGER,
LL.D., F.R.S. London : T. Woolmer. 1887.

THE Fernley Lecture of this year was anticipated with the greatest interest, was listened to on its delivery with delighted enthusiasm, and now that it is published, it will be eagerly scanned by thousands of readers, anxious to know what an accomplished man of science and eloquent preacher has to say on a theme so important as that indicated by the title. It is needless for us to say that the lecture is able in conception as it is brilliant and eloquent in exposition. When Dr. Dallinger speaks, he knows precisely what he means to say, and clothes his thoughts in select and stately language worthy of the high themes he handles. As a *savant* in the department of biological research he has won a high place, and he is equally distinguished by the fidelity with which he holds and the earnestness with which he preaches the doctrines of evangelical truth.

Whether the many readers of this able lecture will be satisfied or partially disappointed, depends of course upon their several expectations. For ourselves we may say at once that we expected much, and while in some respects our highest expectations have been met, while we have delightedly admired the vigour with which the main argument of the lecture is pursued and the masterly way in which the cardinal truths of Theism are defended, we have been disappointed, both by the presence of some things we have found and the absence of some things we have failed to find in a careful and elaborate deliverance on the part of Dr. Dallinger, speaking as Fernley Lecturer. We have not space to summarize the whole argument, but may sketch a portion of it in outline, saying by the way that it would have been a help to many readers unaccustomed to follow closely compacted reasoning, if an outline or syllabus with numbered sections had been prefixed.

The lecture opens by dwelling on the insatiable desire of the human mind to search out the causes of phenomena, the origin of the universe. It is not the business of physical science to meet this demand. The ultimate analysis presented by physical science is *matter as affected by motion*; the problem of the universe is not solved by these feeble factors. In endeavouring to relate

sequences and account for phenomena, we pass beyond the bounds of physics. Huxley affirms this, Herbert Spencer does not deny it. We are led not by demonstration, but by irresistible conviction to a primordial power; what is it? Alternative answers are then discussed. The theory of the mechanical origin of the universe, both as propounded by Hæckel, a representative of the coarser materialism, and as virtually inculcated by Spencer, who repudiates materialism, yet tries to show that mind is an outcome of matter, is in all its varied aspects weighed and found wanting.

We cannot speak too highly of the lecturer's able examination of Spencer's views and the *reductio ad absurdum* of his philosophy as an attempt to present "completely unified" knowledge and explain the ultimate nature of the universe. Whence, Dr. Dallinger asks, came the "primal nebula" of Laplace? Whence the inconceivably intense heat which pervaded it? The ether beyond the cosmic cloud? Whence the atoms of the primordial haze, the stupendously vast "homogeneity," and the first impulse towards "heterogeneity?" Whence the "protyle," the single primal element of Dr. Crookes? Above all, whence did *Life* originate? Dr. Dallinger shows conclusively that "atoms dancing to the rhythm of complex motion," with untold millenniums to work in, are utterly inadequate to the transmutation of not-living matter into matter organic and sentient. In a similar way he shows how utterly inadequate is the Spencerian philosophy to conjure *Mind* out of matter and motion, and leads steadily up—in a masterly fashion to which a bare abstract of arguments can do no justice—to the conclusion that the Primordial Power is Infinite, Uncaused Mind, that is, God.

The second part of the lecture describes "what we may know of the Method of Creation," and here we confess to a serious measure of disappointment. Dr. Dallinger takes the position, if we understand him rightly, of a Christian Evolutionist. He speaks in this latter portion of his address with an amount of caution which befits our present imperfect knowledge, but we imagine we cannot be far wrong in using such a phrase to describe the lecturer's mental attitude towards the question of the day. We on our part are quite prepared to follow carefully the arguments of any one, especially such a master of scientific methods and conclusions as Dr. Dallinger, who will show us good reason to believe that "what we may know of the method" of the One Creator points to uninterrupted evolution from a primal fiery nebular mass of matter. We read this part of Dr. Dallinger's lecture eagerly, anticipating a masterly treatment of the subject, whatever might be the ultimate effect upon the reader's mind. We proceed to show, at least in part, why the lecturer's treatment of this section of his subject appeared to us seriously defective and disappointing.

The first point on which we fix attention—passing by many questions that emerge concerning the evolution of inorganic matter—is the Origin of Life. Dr. Dallinger says (p. 39), "I contend that whatever were the means by which dead matter first lived, they were higher, infinitely higher, than matter and motion; they could only have been the resources of a *competent* power." We

heartily agree. But he goes on to quote Prof. Huxley's now celebrated confession of scientific faith, that if it were given him to look to the inconceivably remote period when life originated, he "should expect to be a witness of the evolution of living protoplasm from non-living matter." Dr. Dallinger adds: "So should I." We naturally ask, why? The arguments which are adduced to show the reasonableness of such an act of scientific faith are feeble indeed for so able a reasoner, and amount merely to an attempt to throw the onus of proof on the other side by the question, "Why should the creative method be discontinuous?" It is impossible for us within the compass of a few lines to show the simply enormous assumption implied in this supposed transition from not-living to living matter. But surely the burden of proof lies upon those who would show ground for holding that in inorganic matter was the "promise and potency" of life in spite of the unvarying testimony of universal experience to the law of Biogenesis. Dr. Dallinger admits that an energy not now operating was at work when not-living matter progressed into living structure, but cannot permit the inference that it was brought about by any other means than such as we should call "Laws of Nature." He holds that the Creator could work by these means, that such a method would be as worthy of the Divine Wisdom as a direct supernatural interference. Such transcendental argumentation is beyond what we regard as reasonable, and certainly does not lie within the limits of science. The question whether it *has* so pleased God to work is one which we may consider with reverent fearlessness, but it is very unsatisfactorily answered in the volume before us.

Supposing this great chasm—unbridged at present save by the exercise of a faith, which in a mere theologian would be styled credulity—to have been bridged, and the evolution from the primal nebula to the lowest forms of organic life to have been continuous, we are then led from stage to stage of "development," which we are told (p. 56) is "evolution beginning at a fixed point, as evolution is only development *ab initio*." Here we have only two remarks to make. One is, that it appears to us who make no pretence to be experts in physical science, that it would only have been fair for such a master of his subject as Dr. Dallinger to have pointed out the marked limits within which variation has been traced and proved, and the corresponding limits to the application of the law of Natural Selection. The other is, that the most important point in tracing out this historical development appears to us to have been for the most part carefully guarded by Dr. Dallinger, though there are one or two passages in his lecture which might be misunderstood. That is, the distinction between a *modal* and a *causal* theory must never be forgotten. Dr. Dallinger well says:—

"Natural Selection cannot originate anything. Variation does not explain itself. Why is it a property of all living things to vary indefinitely and in all directions? The Darwinian law has no existence without it; but that 'law' no more accounts for this tendency than the law of falling bodies explains gravitation, or shows why it acts as it does" (p. 71).

Dr. Dallinger's remarks on miracle and the argument from design will be

helpful to very many. We are sorry that we cannot do justice to the combined force and precision of his statements, but that would be impossible without freely transcribing his own words. His exposition of what he calls "concurrent adaptation" will shed a flood of light for very many upon the way in which the theistic argument from design should now be put, when "the teleology of the old school, touched by the Ithuriel spear of modern knowledge," is shown to have changed into "a conception of universal design that can only have originated in an infinite mind."

"We may be enabled no longer to say of any structure that it is a 'final cause;' our insight is not deep enough for that, but an equally powerful weapon in defence of theism takes its place. I designate it, 'CONCURRENT ADAPTATION,' that is, *fitness* for ever, throughout all time and space, and fitness absolutely constant amidst all changes. Adaptation is universally concurrent with existence; and whether we have to account for it by sudden and unexplained action, or by the slow operation of laws, is a matter of no essential moment; *it is there*" (p. 72).

It is hardly necessary for us to say how valuable in our opinion is the vindication Dr. Dallinger gives of the value of the argument from design in its new form. The passage we have quoted is but one of many eloquent and convincing paragraphs which could only have been penned by a master-hand.

Our old disappointment, however, returns when we try to follow the several links in the (supposed) unbroken chain of evolution, and come at last to the place of man in the series. Dr. Dallinger takes it for granted that there was no break in the continuity of the chain by which man is supposed to be physically connected with the anthropoid apes.

"That the embryological and anatomical resemblances between man and the highest apes are of a profound and striking character, no sane educated man would attempt to traverse, and that this involves close biological relationship, and proves the operation on each of the same organic laws of development so far as physical origin is concerned, is also certain. . . . By what link man is united physically to the great series below him, by what line and in what specific manner he arose, it has not yet been given to science to determine. Biological science sees with inevitable certainty that he must have been in vital union with that series, that physically he is a part of the majestic organic whole from the first dawn of life upon the globe until now."

We are quite prepared to accept such a statement when it is proved. We heartily concur with what Dr. Dallinger says concerning man's unaltered dignity and responsibility if his physical connection with "the long series below him" should be demonstrated. At present many of those who are not numbered among "the experts of the world"—and, we might add, many who have every claim to that honourable title—fail to see the conclusiveness of the arguments adduced to prove this vital union, and find its supporters making little of the enormous chasm which here again has to be bridged, and which scientific men expect others to bridge on the authority, not of their arguments, but of their faith. Dr. Dallinger enters no caveats on this subject, supplies few or no modifying and guarding clauses, but, taking almost for granted

the continuity of evolution up to and including man, proceeds to argue that such a mode of "creation" is quite consistent with a belief in a Divine Creator.

We can well believe it, and Dr. Dallinger's lecture is an admirable instance of the possible consistency of these two beliefs. But it appears to us he has described not "*what we may know*," but "*what many able men guess*," as to the mode of creation, and then proceeded to found on that basis an argument, the value of which, granted the premisses, we are by no means impugning. It may be replied that it was no part of the lecturer's business to establish these premisses. To which we should reply, that when upon a great occasion, speaking in what we may perhaps term a semi-official capacity, a lecturer of Dr. Dallinger's eminence announces as part of his subject, "*What we may know of the Method of Creation*," we may fairly expect that he will, with some approach to completeness, enable his readers to judge how far evolution is a demonstrated theory, how far only a provisional hypothesis, or a mere conjecture founded upon a fascinatingly rapid but untrustworthy generalization.

Dr. Dallinger's own mind appears to be made up on this matter, and he has given us in this lecture a most able *résumé* of arguments to show not only that an evolutionist need not be a materialist, of which there was never much doubt, but that he may also be a devout theist and an earnest Christian, not finding his evolutionism to be a weight or hindrance, but rather a help to his faith in the One Only Creator, the One Only Evolver. He has not shown, at least to our satisfaction, that the continuity of evolution from the primal nebula to man is unbroken; there is no satisfactory justification of evolutionist views in the confident assertion of evolutionist faith. We wish to see it *proved*—if it can be proved—that the Method of Creation was to implant in an original material mass an inner potency out of which the Creator might evolve all that Himself had involved, and that each link in the chain of evolution brings on the next by interior forces which the materialist says it possesses of itself, which Dr. Dallinger says it possesses because they have been imparted by the Creator. We find no approach to demonstration of such continuity, but—a host of minor difficulties apart—at least two striking gaps in the evidence, which must be leaped by a stalwart faith, if they are to be crossed at all.

We are not afraid of the doctrine of evolution if it can be established. It appears to us that no *modal* theory—and this is all that physical science can ever furnish—of the formation of the Cosmos can dispense with Mind, can disprove the possibility of Miracle, or interfere with a sound argument from Design. When "*what we may know of the Method of Creation*" is clearer and more certain than it is at present, we believe it will but add to the glory of Him who originated and ordered all. We are quite prepared to trust the results of physical science when they are facts, not theories. If we have been compelled to think that Dr. Dallinger has with too great confidence presented a doubtful working hypothesis concerning the Method of Creation as a verified

and demonstrated theory, we are thankful indeed to him for his trenchant arguments against veiled and open materialism, and his triumphant vindication of an intelligent theism as the only rational creed for the science of the nineteenth century.

The Fernley Lecture for 1887 will undoubtedly prove to be a memorable one. Whatever division of opinion a portion of its contents is sure to occasion, it has certainly done very much to vindicate truths which in these days are in no small danger of being ignored or denied, and to show the harmony between the revelation of God in His works and in His word.

God Without Religion: Deism and Sir James Stephen. By
WILLIAM ARTHUR, Author of "The Tongue of Fire,"
&c. &c. London: Bemrose & Sons. 1887.

This able and eloquent book completes a work the plan of which was suggested some years ago by a sort of triangular duel in the *Nineteenth Century* between Mr. Frederic Harrison, Mr. Herbert Spencer, and Sir James Stephen. The three thinkers in question had each his own "scheme of the weal and woe" to champion: Mr. Frederic Harrison, his Positivist God, or, as Mr. Arthur well says, Goddess Humanity, and his solemn travesty of Christian worship; Mr. Herbert Spencer his agnostical metaphysics, reducing God to an inscrutable power and religion to a sentiment elicited by the sense of ignorance; Sir James Stephen, his barren eighteenth century Deism, hard and mechanical, unilluminated by a spark of sentiment, admitting no place for prayer. The two first parts of the work were noticed in this Review on their appearance two years ago. The third and concluding portion is now before us. The title *God Without Religion* is as appropriate to the position of Sir James Stephen as was that of *Religion Without God* to the views, however differing *inter se*, of Mr. Frederic Harrison and Mr. Herbert Spencer. The book naturally falls into three parts: (1) an examination of Sir James Stephen's position in itself; (2) an examination of the cardinal assumption on which it depends—viz., that "human life is in course of being fully described by science;" (3) a criticism of the inference drawn from that assumption—to wit, that religion is moribund and that we may anticipate its demise with equanimity. Each part gives abundant evidence that Mr. Arthur retains all his old power of luminous expression, apt illustration, and keen logical analysis. We read the book continuously, from cover to cover, with unflagging interest. To give any detailed view of its contents would carry us beyond the limits of a mere notice, and would moreover only spoil the freshness of the book for our readers' own perusal. Some comprehensive bird's-eye view of its general scope is therefore all that it is in our power to attempt. Naturally, it is in the first part of the treatise that Mr. Arthur is most conspicuously successful. Sir James Stephen is too candid a man and too honest a thinker not to recognize the grandeur which a lively faith in a living God and in the immortality of the

soul has thrown, and still throws, around life, and the entire impotence of science to fill the void which the loss of such a faith entails. Yet the man who on one page bears eloquent and plainly sincere testimony to the spiritual worth and practical power of religion, and avers on another that "attempts to construct a religion out of science are like attempts to fly without air and without wings," is the very same who gravely and deliberately informs us that "love, friendship, ambition, science, literature, art, politics, commerce, professions, trades, a thousand other matters, will go on equally well, as far as I can see, whether there is or is not a God or a future state." Heroic inconsistency of this kind, were the matter less momentous, would be food for merriment. One thinks of Molière's judge who solemnly gave judgment in one wig only to reverse it in another. With reference to Sir James Stephen's great assumption—viz., that "human life is in course of being explained by science"—the gist of Mr. Arthur's criticism, as we apprehend it, is that science cannot, strictly speaking, *explain* anything, but can only classify, and by the help of hypotheses co-ordinate phenomena, the ultimate problem, whence phenomena come, eluding its power. The rest of the work is mainly addressed to the question, whether there really is any probability or even possibility of religion passing away. Here Mr. Arthur shows, by the help partly of historical retrospect, partly of statistical facts of the present day admirably marshalled and arranged, that there is no ground for anticipating that in any calculable period religion will lose its hold on the human mind; and that the Christian religion in particular was never so widely diffused or so energetically propagated as at the present day. This part of the work contains many passages of powerful and persuasive eloquence.

One of the high merits of this really great, though by no means large, book is that it lifts the whole argument on behalf of religion and Christianity into a sphere far higher than that of mere syllogistic logic or physiological analysis. Throughout the reader feels himself to be in the light of human consciousness and of spiritual experience. Given the sense of personal consciousness and of personal will and morality, the moral philosopher and the Christian reasoner have a world of facts to deal with of the highest authority, sphere above sphere, as to which the evidence—although always ignored by the sensational psychologist and the merely utilitarian moralist—is as certain, as immediate, as peremptory, as that which rules in the lower spheres of observation, as rendered into or by consciousness. In no modern book that we know has this line of thought and argument been brought out with such clearness, such rightful boldness, such fulness and felicity of illustration, as in this volume. We are tempted to extract some passages from a most valuable criticism of a passage in Mill's *Utilitarianism*, as an example of what we have been trying to describe:—

"Mr. Mill, in his *Utilitarianism*, has a passage which greatly struck me very many years ago, and of which these thoughts remind me. Turning to it, I find the tokens of the original impression in pencil notes. In quoting it I shall underline certain expressions:

"If I am asked, what I mean by difference of quality in pleasures, or what makes one pleasure more valuable than another, merely as a pleasure, except its being greater in amount, there is but one possible answer. Of two pleasures, if there be one to which all or almost all who have experience of both give a decided preference, irrespective of any feeling of moral obligation to prefer it, that is the more desirable pleasure. *If one of the two is, by those who are competently acquainted with both, placed so far above the other that they prefer it, even though knowing it to be attended with a greater amount of discontent, and would not resign it for any quantity of the other pleasures which their nature is capable of, we are justified in ascribing to the preferred enjoyment a superiority in quality, so far outweighing quantity as to render it in comparison of small account*' (p. 12, 2nd Ed.).

"Now, my pencil note, which looks as if it had been written on some journey, is this: 'Did ever man know the love of God, and not for ever after place it far above all other pleasures?' It would be easy for Mr. Mill to say that no one ever did know the love of God; but it would be equally easy for a man about town to say that no one ever knew the pleasure of thinking out a logical exposition of the difference between analogy and induction.

"In the words which follow the passage last quoted we have a set of utterances which only need to be placed under the eye of a Christian to whom the love of God in the heart is a real experience, and step by step, as he proceeds, the affirmations of Mill rise out of the place on which he set them, and range themselves on one distinctly higher.

"Now it is an unquestionable fact that those who are equally acquainted with, and equally capable of appreciating and enjoying both, do give a most marked preference to the manner of existence which employs their higher faculties. Few human creatures would consent to be changed into any of the lower animals, for a promise of the fullest allowance of a beast's pleasures; no intelligent human being would consent to be a fool, no instructed person would be an ignoramus, no person of feeling and conscience would be selfish and base, even though they should be persuaded that the fool, the dunce, or the rascal is better satisfied with his lot than they are with theirs. *They would not resign what they possess more than he, for the most complete satisfaction of all the desires which they have in common with him. . . . Whoever supposes that this preference takes place at a sacrifice of happiness—that the superior being, in anything like equal circumstances, is not happier than the inferior—confounds the two very different ideas, of happiness, and content.* It is indisputable that the being whose capacities of enjoyment are low, has the greatest chance of having them fully satisfied; and a highly endowed being will always feel that any happiness which he can look for, as the world is constituted, is imperfect. But he can learn to bear its imperfections, if they are at all bearable; and they will not make him envy the being who is indeed unconscious of the imperfections, but only because he feels not at all the good which those imperfections qualify. *It is better to be a human being dissatisfied than a pig satisfied; better to be Socrates dissatisfied than a fool satisfied. And if the fool, or the pig, is of a different opinion, it is because they know only their own side of the question. The other party to the comparison knows both sides*' (pp. 12-14).

"If the fool, or the pig, is of a different opinion, it is because they know only their own side of the question." How often do those words leap up and flash, like letters of phosphorus in a dark place, as one reads what men of mind and study, but men without God, say, when they allude to the spiritual life! Rich men, they are poor; bright men, they are dark; instructed men, they are groping; and yet they speak with stone-hard certainty on that of which they by experience know nothing—of that which cannot be known

otherwise than by experience, any more than can the life and pleasures of the æsthetic faculty.

"But even more striking than the applicability of those words to a class is their applicability to Mill himself. They might have been written that any servant of God, conscious of his own intellectual inferiority to Mill, might set them as a mark on all the passages where his frosty contempt for spiritual life crisps the sentences. Never existed a human mind more completely shut off from the lights which flow from above into the embodied spirit than, from childhood, was his. For many years one image has always risen to my thought when I have looked at that mind as self-displayed, comparing it with the many happy men whom I have known, and with others whose character and works are common property. Mill always seems like a spacious mansion, having the basement and ground floor amply illuminated; but all the blinds close down in what the Italians call the *piano nobile*, the upper suite where are passed the high moments of existence, where are received the visits which bring in delight and honour.

"The other party," he continues, "to the comparison knows both sides." Yes; knowledge of both sides is the indispensable pre-requisite to judging; and even Mr. Mill is not relieved from this necessity. As between spiritual life and merely intellectual life, the man who does not know both sides is equally incompetent to form a comparison as is the man who knows only sensual life to form one between it and spiritual life.

"Those who have the blessedness of possessing a knowledge of both sides received, from Mill, confirmation of the inferiority of intellectual life without God to spiritual life more pungent than any Christian writer could bring to them. No religious biography ever impressed upon men of intellect who are also men of faith, as did Mill's account of himself, the conviction that the lights of mere mind and science are only the moonlight of human nature—a moonlight this, however, which with its chilled loveliness and wide openings up into the infinite darkness, contains within itself no pledge of an approaching sun.

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"One fine point, and true as fine, made by Mill is this, that a man of higher faculties, though dissatisfied, 'can never really wish to sink into what he feels to be a lower grade of existence.' Just so the most intellectual of spiritually minded men would *feel* that to lose their faith, hope, and charity, their access to God in prayer, their love to the Lord Jesus Christ, their feeding on His word, even if such loss were accompanied with high intellectual activity, would be 'sinking into a lower grade of existence'; as when in the height of a harvest day light clouds screen off from the landscape the direct shining of the sun. Not a single object is withdrawn, nor yet a hair-breadth of dimensions deducted from any; no tree has lost a leaf, no ear a single spike, no hill a foot of its altitude. Yet every separate object has lost some degree of its brightness, and the glory of the whole is perceptibly dimmed. Its highest relations are interrupted; it falls short of its best possible estate.

"This sense of possessing the highest good, the highest beauty, and the highest truth in the enjoyment of God and in glorifying Him, is inevitable to him who experiences it, simply because it is natural. He has found his best—that is all; but that arrived at, all the contents of infinity settle down around the soul as in their right places, or at all events on the way to be put into them. This repose, the *peace* given of God, the peace of satisfaction in judgment, conscience, and feeling, as having in possession the pearl of great price, is a fact of human experience as much as poetic delights of conception or rational rest of intellect in a demonstration. The faculty whereby such peace is received is as much a portion of the scientific contents of human nature as is nervous energy in contrast with muscular strength, or as is the creative

power of the imagination in contrast with the formative force of the hand. If you please, it is as much so as the necessity to say that two and two make four.

"Men who have known this peace, and also known somewhat of the life of intellect, have paused and balanced over Mill's account of his own existence, with profound feeling that, however he might in intellect surpass them, they, transferring his own touching words from their well-fitting place as between sensualist and intellectualist, to a place still more fitting as between believer and unbeliever, have said: 'they would not resign what they possessed more than he for the most complete satisfaction' he had ever enjoyed in a feat of intellect. With slow and calculated judgment they would go on to quote, adapting as they quoted: 'Whoever supposes that the [Christian] in anything like equal circumstances is not happier than the [unbeliever] confounds two very different ideas, of happiness, and content.'

"This sense of the superiority of spiritual good over intellectual, analogous to the sense of the superiority of intellectual good over sensual, comes with that spontaneous dictum of consciousness which is wont to accredit every case of an experience received and registered as good for his own sake, or superior in its kind. It arises just as does our knowledge that the odour of a sweetbriar is better than that of a bramble; we can give no reason for it beyond the supreme one, that we are so constituted that the one is to us more grateful than the other. Any light on the chemical elements of the two scents, or on the molecular arrangement of the particles composing them, would be pleasing, but would not in any way affect the case. The one object is in external nature, in our environment—a something which, we being what we are, will ever be to us more than the other. The man who says it is not superior, proves to other men one of two things, either that he is abnormally constituted or that 'he has never felt it.' This way of accounting for the preference seems more thorough than Mill's. He bases the preference on a certain sense of dignity carried with it by the higher pleasure. But why does it give its possessor a sense of dignity? Because it is that to which his nature responds, as proper to its higher side. And, oh! to the soul whose hope is full of immortality, anticipating shortly to know even as also we are known, how small does knowledge of tongues, of arts, and of bodies seem, priceless as is its value here, compared with the knowledge which contains in it the foretaste of everlasting increase, just as the knowledge of letters contains the key to all earthly science."

We must add one more sentence to note that in the course of his argument as to the future of the Christian religion, Mr. Arthur deals in a singularly able and successful way with the question as to Mahomedanism in its relation to Christianity, which Canon Isaac Taylor, having, it would seem, but recently become aware of some facts to him startling which had been long familiar to thoughtful students of the history of Christianity and of Christian Missions, has in so crude and rash a manner projected into the midst of a Church Congress. The Canon's question is beforehand analysed and gauged and settled convincingly in Mr. Arthur's volume.

We congratulate Mr. Arthur on the completion of his great trilogy, in which he has made a precious gift to the Christian thought and argument of the present and the coming age. Here is full compensation, we think we may say, even for the stilling so early in his life's history of his eloquent and persuasive voice of utterance.

History of the Christian Philosophy of Religion from the Reformation to Kant. By BERNHARD PÜNJER. Translated by W. HASTIE, B.D. With Preface by ROBERT FLINT, D.D., LL.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.

The author of the work, half of which is here presented to the English reader, died about two years ago, when he had scarcely entered on middle life. This should be remembered in any criticism of the work, which, whatever its deficiencies, is one of great ability and value. Dr. Flint, at whose instance it was translated, introduces it with words of strong recommendation and moderate criticism. The limits which the author set himself and which are indicated in the title should be noted. "Christian" rules out all other religions. The limit of time also is reasonable, though a brief sketch of ancient and mediæval speculation on the subject is given in the introduction. "History" shows that the author's purpose is to give an account of past theories and of suggestions towards theories. Certainly it seems strange, as Dr. Flint remarks, to find accounts of Spinoza, Diderot, Voltaire, and some others who did not even claim to be "Christian philosophers." The author himself was conscious of the incongruity, and tries to vindicate for Spinoza some sort of relation to Christian thought, but the vindication is not very effective. The small space given to Lord Bacon, John Locke, and even Descartes, is perhaps sufficiently explained by the fact that the author has only to do with the religious side of their teaching. But why then is so much attention given to Hume?

The work is remarkable for the extent of ground covered, for systematic arrangement, lucidity of expression, and judicial impartiality. Pünjer is another proof that Germans can write as clearly as others. We sometimes wonder whether obscurity and haze are peculiar to the theological atmosphere. Literary and philosophical Germans are intelligible enough. The author's "objectivity," as the phrase goes, is also perfect. "The historian here never obtrudes himself between us and the history. He has effaced himself before his subject, in order that it alone may be seen, and precisely as it is." This is not a common gift. In illustration of the want of it Dr. Flint refers to Dorner's *History of Protestant Theology*, a work which, notwithstanding its great value, "has far too much of Dr. Dorner's own individuality in it to be a trustworthy history." A still better case is Maurice's *History of Philosophy*, in which Greek thinkers and scholastic divines speak in the most modern tones. Pünjer, on the other hand, has succeeded in making himself a mere organ through which others speak. The language only is modern. Not that the writers dealt with are reproduced in mechanical quotation. Of quotation there is comparatively little. The leading doctrines and ideas are carefully extracted and then presented in condensed and lucid review. The classification also is good, with some exceptions. First the principal movement of thought is described, then the subordinate movements. Thus, after a brief presentation of the philosophical ideas involved in the writings of the Reformers, we have

"the oppositional movements within Protestantism," including Socinianism, Anabaptism, Mystics, Böhme, Swedenborgianism, Irvingism, and "the practical opposition," namely, Moravianism and Methodism. What a juxtaposition! Little is said of Methodism, and the little is very false, as both translator and introducer note. After a fuller account of the English Deists, special "controversies and apologetic works" are sketched. This leads up to Hume, to whom too great importance is ascribed in such a connection. Not only are the doctrines of Descartes and Spinoza summarized, the latter more fully than the former, but their adherents and opponents also are discussed. The section on "The Eighteenth Century in France" deals only with sceptics, from Bayle to Rousseau, and our wonder what these have to do with any philosophy of religion is excited but not satisfied. The Leibnitzian movement again is described in its various ramifications. "Aufklärung" (Enlightenment, Rationalism) is the name usually given to it. The last section describes the reaction against the Aufklärung, first by the "historico-critical" school, and then by the leaders of the tendencies which have prolonged themselves into our days—Lessing, Herder, Hamann, Jacobi. The account of these latter writers is very full and interesting. From this rapid conspectus it will be seen that the field of review is very wide. Scores of writers are more or less fully epitomized, and scores more are incidentally referred to. To write such a history without losing the interest and freshness of original work is proof of no mean talent. Faults of detail, such as the undue amount of space given to Jacob Böhme, do not materially affect the value of the work. One of Dr. Flint's just criticisms is that "it is quite erroneous to place English Deism before Cartesianism." German writers are always weakest in their treatment of English writers. Witness in the present volume the meagre notice of Butler. But this is a lack which English students can easily supply for themselves.

Dr. Flint says: "Nowhere else will a student get nearly so much knowledge as to what has been thought and written within the area of Christendom on the Philosophy of Religion. He must be an excessively learned man in that department who has nothing to learn from this book." His earnest commendation of the study of the Philosophy of Religion in general should also be taken to heart. "I cannot too earnestly commend the study of it to our younger theologians. It is the all-inclusive theological science—at once the foundation, the vital breath, the goal and crown of every theological discipline." Both the original work and its translator may well rejoice in the imprimatur of such a master. The translation reads admirably, with the exception of "will" for "shall," and a few phrases which are too literal for good idiom.

Myth, Ritual, and Religion. By ANDREW LANG. Two Vols.
London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1887.

Careful distinction must be made between the mass of facts relating to the history of religion, which Mr. Lang's volumes contain, and the theory to

whose support the facts are applied. In the former aspect the work is full of value and interest to the student of comparative religion. The collection of facts is extraordinary, both in number and character. No source of information is overlooked—accounts of travellers, missionaries, historians, scientific students. Stray incidents, picked up in out-of-the-way nooks, find their right place. The mass of material is reduced to unity, and presented in a style not merely lucid and interesting, but graceful and piquant in the highest degree. The work is evidently the result of long and conscientious study of the subject; and those who differ most from Mr. Lang's theories will be the first to admit the value of the solid contribution he has made to an important subject, and to envy the easy, flexible pen which he commands. As regards the theory which the work is written to establish, we fancy it will cause some flutter in certain quarters. Not content with arguing against old theories and their advocates, Mr. Lang is wicked enough never to miss an opportunity of poking fun at them. Over the different translations of the same Vedic passages he laughs aloud. He speaks of an "almost comic example of the difficulty of Vedic interpretation" where in a funeral hymn a phrase is translated, both "roast a goat" and "warm the soul of the dead." "Whether the soul is to be thus comforted or the goat is to be grilled, is a question that has mightily puzzled Vedic doctors. Professor Müller and M. Langlois are all for the immortal soul; the goat has advocates, or had advocates, in Aufrecht, Ludwig and Roth." These comments of Mr. Lang are scarcely fair, not to say generous. The study of Sanscrit, and still more of the Archaic Sanscrit of the Vedas, is quite new. It is, therefore, scarcely to be wondered at that Western knowledge of it should be imperfect at first. But Max Müller is scarcely to be put on the same level with some of the other names. Mr. Lang, however, has an object in view. If everything is so uncertain in the Vedic field, he is free to adopt whatever views may best serve his theory. On p. 231 of vol. i. he claims the liberty to regard as ancient just what will prove his case.

We are one with Mr. Lang in his argument against Herbert Spencer's notion that savages are without curiosity, though certainly Mr. Spencer says "intelligent curiosity." It scarcely needed so many cases to prove that curiosity is abnormally strong in them. But Mr. Lang is indulging his humour when he speaks of "savage science, savage metaphysics," and "a far-reaching savage philosophy." The only "savage philosophy" is *post hoc ergo propter hoc*. The "savage theory of causation" is in truth no other than the theory, strange as it may sound, of Brown, Mill, Bain and the Positivists. "The chief principle of savage science is that antecedence and consequence in time are the same as effect and cause." "The Digger Indians," we are assured, "occupy the modern scientific position," vol. i. p. 187. It is another piece of Mr. Lang's humour when, speaking of the abominations of Greek religion, he says, "Doubtless there were survivals of barbaric licence, and of performances like those of the Zunis in their snake-feast; but it is certain that even if there had been no debauchery, the Fathers would have invented it and maligned the mysteries of their opponents, exactly as the

opponents 'maligned the mysteries of Christianity.' Why is it "certain?" We are afraid the Fathers are "maligned," if Mr. Lang is serious, of which we are not "certain." So again on the same page he says, "Revivals everywhere have licentiousness among other consequences." "Everywhere" is a comprehensive word, which it would be utterly impossible to justify. Mr. Lang is guilty, in ignorance, of the injustice of making a rare, exceptional evil a natural and universal characteristic.

There is much in the volumes of which a Christian apologist might make most effective use. Of old Greece Mr. Lang says truly, "The lovely shapes of God's 'defaecate to a pure transparency' in the religion of Aristotle and Plutarch. But the gods remain beautiful in their statues, beautiful in the hymns of Pindar and the plays of Sophocles; hideous often in temple myth and ancient *woanon* and secret rite, till they are all, good and evil, cast out by Christianity. The most brilliant civilisation of the world never expelled the old savage from its myth and its ritual."

Mr. Lang's position, in brief, is that all religious myths (whether all religious ideas, we are not clear) are the product of a primeval savage stage of mankind. The marks of the savage state he takes to be the confounding of human life with all other existence, sorcery, belief in spirits, curiosity and credulity. Totemism is a result of the first trait. Man, in his first savage state, really looked upon everything as living and active like himself, and credited physical objects and animals with the history he ascribed to them. The mythical explanations were simply the allegories by which, at a later reflective stage, he sought to justify his first crude views of things. This is a very bare statement of the theory which Mr. Lang sets himself to establish with such wealth of illustration. Numerous as his examples are, he tells us that they are only selections from a vast mine. His illustrations cluster round two points—mythical views of the origin of the world and man, and mythical views of the Divine nature. Examples of savage opinions on these points are brought from all nations and tribes—India, Greece, Australia, Mexico, North America, Egypt. It is obvious that we cannot enter on the work of criticism here. The author, no doubt, points out many difficulties for his opponents, but his own position is only maintained by large assumptions. Thus, he assumes that in India, as elsewhere, everything savouring of Totemism is a survival of old savage ideas. But what about the higher, more noble ideas? There can be no doubt that the Vedic teachings are far purer in many respects than subsequent beliefs. Here there was not progress, but retrogression. Granted that the Vedic stage is not the most primitive one, the purer elements may have come from earlier days as well as the baser elements. The sum of the matter is that Mr. Lang can establish his theory if he is allowed to make whatever transposition and selection is necessary. It would be much more to the point if Mr. Lang would give an instance of a people historically known to be savage, and then show them gradually advancing to a monotheistic stage. Of course this cannot be done. All speculation about savage origins is in the air. But if we can show, as we can, that the

tendency of idolatry now is downward, not upward, then on the principle that the same nature in the same circumstances always acts in the same way, this is as good proof as can be had that the tendency in remote ages was not upward.

Geschichte des christlichen Gottesdienstes, ein Handbuch (History of Christian Worship, a Handbook). Von H. A. KOESTLIN. Freiburg : Mohr. 1887.

The author breaks new and interesting ground. His object is to trace the growth and development of the different forms of divine worship in use in the Christian Church, and at the same time to describe and illustrate them. The Handbook is necessarily brief, furnishing mere outlines to be filled up by further research, but its clearness of method and numerous references to the literature of the subject make further study very easy. The first division treats of worship first in Apostolic and Post-apostolic days, and then in the early Catholic Church; the second treats of Catholic worship in the Greek and Roman Churches respectively; the third treats of Evangelical worship in the Lutheran and Reformed communities. In every case the order and contents of the service are illustrated in detail. Not the least interesting portion of the work is the author's account of what he calls the "principle" or leading idea of each system of worship. So far as we have observed, this delicate task is justly and fairly done, with much discrimination and insight. However the different communities may dispute the author's descriptions, they will recognize his fairness of intention. We will transcribe a few of his sentences about the Anglican Church. "It takes a peculiar position within the Reformed Church. It bears in itself traces of all the churches, its doctrine following the Reformed type, its view of ordination and the value placed on the hierarchical system and ceremonial display being decidedly Catholic; the view of Baptism approaching the Lutheran theory; while the acknowledgment of the Royal Supremacy reminds us of the Greek Church. The same is true of the Anglican Liturgy; it bears an eclectic character." Not only will the work prove interesting for the information it gives of the forms of worship in different branches of the Church, but it will also prove useful in the efforts which are being made in the direction of further improvement.

Word Studies in the New Testament. By MARVIN R. VINCENT, D.D. Vol. I. The Synoptic Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, Epistles of Peter, James, and Jude. London : J. Nisbet & Co. 1887.

Dr. Vincent is a busy pastor in New York who has employed his scanty leisure in preparing this valuable work. It is intended to take a position midway between the exegetical commentary and the lexicon and grammar so

as "to put the reader of the English Bible nearer to the standpoint of the Greek scholar, by opening to him the native force of the separate words of the New Testament in their lexical sense, their etymology, their history, their inflection, and the peculiarities of their usage by different evangelists and apostles." Whilst the volume is admirably adapted to this end, it will be of great service to young students of Greek, or ministers who have not much time to keep up their college work. The preface forms an admirable plea for the book, with a careful account of the niceties of the Greek language, and the inadequacy of the best translation to express all its meaning. A formidable list of authors and editions, which covers more than eight pages, shows that Dr. Vincent has drawn his facts from a wide area. His matter, however, is so well digested that every reader will be able to grasp and enjoy his statements. The introductions to the various gospels and epistles embody the results of the latest scholarship in a few crisp pages. These will be of special value and interest to those for whom the book is intended. Lists of Greek words peculiar to each Evangelist are given, with copious indexes to the Greek and Latin terms discussed in the book. The notes on Greek words and expressions vary in length from a line to three pages. Illustrations from the Septuagint and from classical Greek are given in a form that English readers can easily understand. Rabbinical legends and other illustrations enliven the brief articles. The whole work follows the chapters verse by verse so that it is easy to find anything that the student wants in a moment. Dr. Vincent does not notice the explanation of Beelzebub as "Lord of flies," but confines himself to the interpretation "Master of the Dwelling;"—that is one of the omissions of the volume. We heartily commend this valuable work to all readers of the English Bible.

The Two Dispensations, Gentile and Millennial : An Ecclesiastical, Secular, Political, Military, and Naval History of Europe, &c., during the last Eighteen Hundred Years, as allegorically set forth in the Book of Revelation, and also a Panoramic Picture of the Thousand Years of Millennial Glory. By JOHN WILLIAMS. London: Elliot Stock, 1887.

We have quoted the full title of this remarkable volume because it describes the treat in store for the public better than we can hope to do. How such a book found a publisher we are at a loss to conjecture. It is evident that the author expects readers. He dedicates his pages to the entire hierarchy of the Church of Christ, the British Government, the members of both Houses of Parliament, and to the British people generally. His volume is intended to be an exposition of the Book of Revelation in various aspects. Mr. Williams thinks he knows everything. Evidently, however, he neither knows nor

follows Norman Macleod's sage resolve about the Apocalypse, to wade in as far as he could and then to wade out again. The light of the Holy City, St. John says, was like unto a jasper stone. "This presupposes that the individuals comprising the 'Holy City' will still retain the physical appearance of the nationality, people, or tribe from whom they sprang, but whilst these men, women, and children of every hue appertaining to this city will look like a jasper stone, yet all their dulness will be gone, for every one, be they black, red, yellow, white, brown, or tawny, will be as clear as crystal, and thus each individual being a part of this New Jerusalem, whether young or old, will always be an object of attraction and of profound respect to all the mortal beings by whom they will virtually be surrounded." The matchless verse which tells us that the city had no need of the sun, neither of the moon, to shine in it, affords Mr. Williams the opportunity of saying that Queen Victoria is fitly symbolized as the sun, and her Protestant subjects as Christians are most properly defined as the moon. If any one wishes for such exposition he will find it here. We commend the book to those who wish to waste their time, or who need a warning against rash and unprofitable attempts to solve all mysteries.

The Self-Revelation of Jesus Christ. With an Examination of some Naturalistic Hypotheses. By JOHN KENNEDY, M.A., D.D., Honorary Professor New College. London: Isbister. 1887.

This is a good piece of work, as might be expected. It is unpretending, but clear, well thought out, and convincing. It is not too large nor too learned—though Dr. Kennedy is a man of real learning—for busy people to read. It is well adapted to the needs of the present time; and the venerable author has rendered good service by his quiet but effective exposure of the rationalism of the Headmaster of the City of London School, who has wrought such evil among the young men of the age, especially in London.

The Word in the Heart: Notes on the Devotional Study of Holy Scripture. By the Rev. W. T. DAVISON, M.A. of Richmond College. London: T. Woolmer. 1887.

This is one of the "Helps Heavenward" series, and undoubtedly it is one of the best of the series. It is a fit sequel to Mr. Watkinson's *Beginnings of the Christian Life*, and is the needful companion and complement of Mr. Curnock's *God and Nature*. Thus far the series has exceeded in merit and beauty our highest expectations. This manual—a preparatory small but full treatise on the right method and meaning of Bible study—is a real treasure; alike in thought, in spirit, in expression beautiful, and we had almost said perfect; in style as clear as it is scholarly; in substance, searching, tender,

luminous, not seldom profound; in spirit, earnest, intense, and yet sober with the reverence of a chastened spirit which cleaves to the teaching of "the Word," and being governed by the light of reason itself illuminated from the fountain of Revelation, is saved from mystical illusions. The book glistens with gem-like sentences from page to page. We cannot but anticipate great and extensive usefulness from this little volume, so cheap, so small, but so suggestive and impressive. We need hardly say that in form and getting up, this, like the rest of the series, is very elegant and artistic.

Elijah: his Life and Times. By the Rev. W. MILLIGAN, D.D.,
Professor of Divinity and Biblical Criticism, Aberdeen.
London: J. Nisbet & Co.

Dr. Milligan has had a very difficult task. We wish we could say that he had discharged it fully to our satisfaction. Notwithstanding his undoubted learning and ability—and few modern divines have or deserve to have a higher reputation as an exegetical expositor than Dr. Milligan—we must confess to some disappointment in this volume. In a supernaturally founded and divinely guided and guarded economy like that of the people of Israel—in a true theocracy—a miraculous section of history, as Dr. Samuel Cox has well shown in his book on Miracles, may properly and *naturally* be looked for at certain crises. Such a section was that with which the name of Elijah is identified at the great and fearful crisis when Ahab and Jezebel were the tyrants of the ten tribes. This is a cardinal point for the expositor, of which, as it seems to us, Dr. Milligan does not bring out the full and rightful forces. He sometimes hesitates weakly between what we must call an unduly naturalistic bias and a bold interpretation by which the supernatural might have been shown to be in the circumstances natural. Between the two lines he wavers now and again in a manner which is, from either point of view, inconsistent. Nevertheless, we need hardly say, the book is reverent, learned, and instructive.

Bar-Jonah, the Son of the Resurrection. By the Rev. ARTHUR
BEARD, M.A. London: George Bell & Sons. 1887.

Mr. Beard is not content with simple words used in their current acceptance, so that we venture to prophesy that some of his readers will be so befogged that they will serve him as he tells us that he served the History of the French Revolution, and will put him aside in despair. Those who struggle into the light will, however, be rewarded. He deals with the passage "Thou art Peter" by what he calls "Integration"—that is, he views it in relation to its context, and in all its bearings. He is indignant with the "Tractarian"—that is, the writer of present-day religious tracts—because passages of Scripture are so often quoted in scraps, and thus lose their true meaning. The name "Bar-Jonah," by which Christ addressed Peter, is said to signify "thou art the Son

of the Resurrection." The sign of Jonah had first been given to the Sadducees, "it is now given to Simon (so I read) as a token of promise of the same." This is strained exposition indeed. We can promise Mr. Beard's readers abundance of such commenting, but once the jargon of his little book is mastered it is certainly suggestive and thought-provoking. Mr. Spurgeon is somewhat sharply attacked for his incorrect use of Scripture, but Mr. Beard is compelled to admit that even some clergymen offend in the same way. Those who, whilst differing from their author, are at the same time willing to learn some good lessons may enjoy this volume.

1. *The First Letter of Paul the Apostle to Timothy; a Popular Commentary: with a series of forty Sermonettes.* By ALFRED ROWLAND, LL.B., B.A.
2. *St. Paul in Athens: the City and the Discourse.* By J. R. MACDUFF, D.D.
3. *Flash Lights; or, Short Sunday Readings for Children.* By EDITH E. SMITH.
4. *Papers on Preaching.* By Bishop BALDWIN, Professor RAINY, and others.
5. *Honey in the Comb: Homespun Homilies (Second Series).* By J. JACKSON WRAY. London: Nisbet & Co. 1887.

1. This volume contains a brief introduction on the authorship, time and place of writing, the value and the object of the Pastoral Epistles; then follow thirty-one pages of expository notes upon the letter. These are sensible and simple, but display no special acumen or freshness. The bulk of the volume is taken up by the "Sermonettes." Every important passage of the Epistle is handled in turn with earnestness and good sense. The brief discourses are enriched with apposite quotation and sound exposition, but are sometimes lacking in force.

2. Dr. Macduff's monograph on Athens is a companion volume to his *St. Paul in Rome*. Both books are the fruit of his own visits to the scenes of the Apostle's labour. He divides his subject here into an historical and descriptive sketch of Athens, followed by a detailed consideration of the discourse on Mars' Hill. In the descriptive part of his book all lovers of Athens will be interested. Many little touches help less fortunate people to realize the scenes which the writer has been privileged to visit. These form the chief attraction of the book. The discourse is ingeniously arranged under four headings, "The God of Nature," "The God of Providence," "The God of Grace," "The God of Judgment." Dr. Macduff is abreast of the best expo-

position and handles his subject in a suggestive style. The Epilogue of the volume, which gives the results of St. Paul's visit with a brief history of the Church founded by him in Athens, is disappointing. There is not much to say on that subject, and Dr. Macduff has to put us off with not a little "padding."

3. Twenty-six little addresses which take up about three pages each. They are tender and spiritual homilies for children on the Saviour's words "Come," "Follow," "Ask."

4. This book consists of ten papers which have appeared in the *Homiletic Magazine*. The subjects treated are "Nineteenth Century Preaching;" "Topics for Preaching;" "Parrhesia in Preaching;" "Rural Preaching;" "Expression in Preaching;" "Tone in Preaching;" "Manner in Preaching;" "Study for Preaching;" "Repetitive Preaching;" "Effective Preaching." The essays are enlivened by many racy incidents and quotations, so that they make up a pleasant volume. The most useful is that on "Expression in Preaching," by the Rev. J. R. Vernon, author of *The Harvest of a Quiet Eye*. We should judge that he records his own experience in his detailed account of the lessons received from a London elocutionist. The hints are sensible and practical.

5. Some time since Mr. Wray published a volume of sermons, entitled "Homespun Homilies for the Crowd," which, like his other books, received a hearty welcome from a wide circle of readers. Its success has led him to send out another set of homilies. They are brief, clear, suggestive, and profitable. Many Christian people will be glad to have such a book for devotional reading. The style is throughout picturesque and popular. Sometimes Mr. Wray strains his English and his metaphor as in the following sentence: "The twelve gates that gap the jasper walls are shut neither day nor night, and through them twelve rushing streams of living souls are ever flowing inward to ebb and eddy, glide and circle in the glory which is around the throne." More severe pruning would have been a distinct gain to the book, but the homilies are pleasing and edifying.

New University Editions of the Scriptures.

From the Cambridge University Press there comes to us an exquisite small edition—the type is very clear—of the Revised Version of the Old and New Testament. The size is not quite small enough for the pocket, but is very convenient for use at church or in private—at least for those whose eyes have not yet begun to fail. We have also from the same Press an admirably clear and neat edition of the Revised New Testament. These editions are marvels of cheapness, the price of the Bible being 1s. 6d., and that of the New Testament 6d. From the Oxford University Press, also, we have a small Revised New Testament in limp covers, which cannot, we suppose, be excelled for clearness and beauty of printing combined with cheapness.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TRAVEL.

Dictionary of National Biography. Edited by LESLIE STEPHEN.
 Vol. XII. Conder-Craigie. London: Smith & Elder.
 1887.

UNDOUBTEDLY the most interesting life in this volume is that of Dr. Henry Cooke, of Belfast, by the Rev. Alexander Gordon. At Glasgow Cooke did not shine as a student, but took immense pains to qualify himself as a public speaker. He even went back to Glasgow after he had got the cure of Donegore and took lessons in elocution from Vandenhoff. Next, when pastor of Killeleagh, he attacked Smethurst, whom the English Unitarians had sent on a preaching mission to Ulster. Whenever Smethurst spoke Cooke had a reply ready, and the result was a decided gain to the Orthodox party. His next triumphs were at successive synods from 1824 to 1829. Mr. Godkin, in his *Religious History of Ireland*, gives an enthusiastic description of a word contest between the two oratorical giants, Dr. Cooke and Rev. H. Montgomery, the champion of Arianism. James Carlile also, though head of a section of the Orthodox party, opposed Cooke's policy of expelling the Arian leaders. Cooke, however, triumphed, and unqualified subscription to the Westminster Catechism was made indispensable. With Orthodoxy, too, came in Toryism. The lax Presbyterianism of the end of the last and the beginning of the present century had been closely bound up with Liberal principles; indeed, the United Irishmen had, at the outset, been nearly all Presbyterians. The change therefore, mainly due to the fiery eloquence and force of character of Cooke, has been of immense political importance. Till 1832 Belfast had been a stronghold of Liberalism; it has since been the citadel of Orangeism. In 1834, Cooke, at Hillsborough, "in presence of 40,000 people published the banns of marriage between the Established and Presbyterian Churches as a means of upholding Protestantism against the Roman Catholic, the Socinian, and the Infidel." "The marriage," such as it is, has led to those violently political sermons which had for centuries disgraced the 12th of July and 12th of August, being imitated in the harangues of Drs. Kane and Hanna, the result being occasional outbreaks, like that of 1886. Dr. Cooke was also great in education, opposing (till he got his own terms) the Irish national education scheme of 1831. "In public," says Mr. Montgomery, "he was a dangerous and unsparing (some said an unscrupulous) foe." His contest with O'Connell in 1841 was a drawn battle; though what success Repeal had in Ulster was due not to O'Connell, but to eagerness to preserve the Tenant Right. As usual, the editor takes the poets. Congreve lived in the palmy days of authorship (*i.e.*, if the author was among the fortunate few). He held

a place in the Pipe office, and a patent place in the Customs worth £600 a year, and the Secretaryship for Jamaica worth £700, besides being Commissioner for wine licences! "Combining epicurean tastes with the good old gentlemanly vice, avarice," he was strangely petted in good society. Mrs. Bracegirdle was his mistress, the second Duchess of Marlborough had him constantly at her house. The bulk of his fortune he left to the latter, a beggarly £200 to the former. The Duchess was probably mad, for after his death she had made a wax figure of him, which, placed at her table, was talked to, served with food, and treated for an imaginary sore on the leg. By accident of birth and by nothing more, Swift was an Irishman; Congreve owed to Ireland nothing but his education. His father, of a Staffordshire Cavalier family, was made Governor of Youghal soon after his birth. He was educated (like Swift) at Kilkenny School, and thence went to Trinity College. The life of Cowper is carefully and sympathetically written. It was the terror of an examination for his office of "Clerk of the Journals of the House of Lords" which drove him to attempt suicide. Rivals for the post had assured him that he would have to stand a questioning at the Bar of the Lords. The astonishing thing about Cowper is the number of people, such as his cousin Johnson and Rose and Hayley, who devoted themselves to him in his closing days. Of Crabbe, the most remarkable fact is, that from 1785, when he settled in Stathern parsonage as its curate, he had twenty-two years of silence, though all the time he was busy writing an "Essay on Botany," &c. &c. The explanation is that he "had a system of periodical incinerations," among the victims being three novels. His preaching attracted great congregations, though he was heartily opposed to "Wesleyans, Evangelicals, and other troublesome innovators." Of his poems very diverse opinions have been formed. Horace Smith, of "The Rejected Addresses," called him "Pope in worsted stockings." Byron said he was "Nature's sternest painter, yet the best." His realism anticipated Wordsworth; his "Village" was meant as an anti-thesis to Goldsmith's idyllic sentimentalism. Scott had Crabbe read to him in his last illness. Jeffery reviewed him admiringly; Wordsworth learned him by heart. E. Fitzgerald, translator of *Omar Khayyám*, wrote (1882) an admiring preface to a selection which he said Tennyson appreciated as much as he did himself. Cardinal Newman admired him as a boy, and found his admiration equally vivid thirty years later, and then again after twenty years more. Among the other lives which make up a more than average volume, we may cite Copley Lord Lyndhurst, by Sir Theodore Martin; Cotton, by S. L. Lee; Captain Cook, by Professor Laughton. Mr. W. P. Courtney's *Life of Cracherode*, the famous book collector (died 1799), is curious. He held the manor of Great Wymondley, subject to the service of presenting the king the first cup from which he drinks at his coronation; and his whole life was embittered by the dread lest he should at some time be called on to perform this service. He was a great buyer at Elmsley's in the Strand, and at Tom Payne's by the Mewgate. His books and prints he gave to the British Museum, whence the Rembrandts and Dürers were stolen by Dighton the

caricaturist, most of them being recovered by an appeal to the virtuosi who had purchased them. Cursayer, the French divine (died 1776), is remarkable for having defended the validity of our orders though he remained to the last in the Roman communion. Canon Perry might have added that his portrait is in the Bodleian, at Oxford. Of Bishop Copleston, of Llandaff, Mr. Kebbel tells us that, though he insisted on a knowledge of Welsh in his clergy, "he thought the want of Welsh services had been greatly exaggerated, seeing that all the business of life is conducted in English, and that therefore English must be understood by the vast majority," a remark which proves him to have been singularly deficient in imagination. Mr. J. Knight assures us that Kean, who thought Cooke the first of actors, erected a monument to him in America, abstracting at the same time a toe bone, which he kept as a relic, compelling all visitors to worship it, till Mrs. Kean flung it away in disgust.

Introduction to a Historical Geography of the British Colonies.

By C. P. LUCAS, B.A. of Balliol College, Oxford, and of the Colonial Office. (Clarendon Press Series.)

Mr. Lucas's object is to give a brief connected account of the Colonies, of the geographical and historical reasons for their belonging to England, and of the special place which each holds in the Empire. He means to follow up this first instalment by a more purely geographical work on our Colonies. In the present work he defines colony, pointing out that the greater part of our foreign dependencies are not colonies in the strict sense, while, on the other hand, the United States may well be said to be still colonies of Great Britain. Of the four motives for colonizing, love of adventure works rather on individuals than on governments, which have been largely influenced by the second motive, the desire of wealth. Mr. Lucas talks of the chivalry and knight errantry of Elizabeth's explorers being superseded as soon as colonizing was begun in earnest by prosaic companies; he might have added that the love of wealth predominated over the chivalry even in men like Raleigh and Drake. Another motive has been social and powerful political discontent. As Mr. Doyle well says (*History of the English in America*): "Virginia was the offspring of economical distress as New England was of ecclesiastical conflicts." The fourth motive, religion, has worked in various ways. Prince Henry of Portugal, the father of modern exploration, was moved by the desire to spread the faith among the Africans. Columbus hoped to find a road to Jerusalem by which to lead a new crusade. Champlain aimed at converting the Indian tribes; Livingstone was missionary and explorer in one. How religion and greed have worked together is seen in the Spanish conquests in America, the express object being "to bring infidels to a knowledge of the faith." Our own Virginia Company combined missionary and mercantile enterprise, and raised funds for spreading Christianity. The Dutch again in Ceylon were keenly alive to the acquisition of wealth while at the same time they forced the natives in the most arbitrary way to exchange the

Romanism which they had adopted from the Portuguese for the reformed faith. After motives Mr. Lucas considers races and their relative adaptability. It is a mistake to speak of the French as "bad colonists;" none are so ready to adopt others' manners and customs. Champlain and de Frontenac lived among the Canadian Indians as French missionaries do now-a-days in India and elsewhere. Dupleix made himself an oriental prince, and he also made the conquest of India possible by inventing the Sepoy. If France has failed to hold her colonies, it is not because the genius of the race is unfit for colonization. For Spain every one has a bad word, yet, as Humboldt showed long ago, the influence and interference of the Mother Country, "here, as elsewhere, the only safeguard of conquered races," checked the cruelties to natives; while the legal protection to negro slaves, due also to home interference, contrasted favourably with their *status* in other countries. It is curious that Brazil, so long wholly neglected because not gold-producing, became ("in consequence of this neglect," thought Adam Smith) far the most important of Portuguese colonies. The same was the case with the Philippines, to which for many years the Spanish Government paid no attention. An instance of Mr. Lucas's terse summings up is: "When a little State has won an Empire, it must grow into and become amalgamated with it, or sooner or later it will be over-weighted by its dependencies. This has been the case with Portugal, also with Holland, which latter simply remained the landlord of a large and profitable estate in foreign parts." Of our newest colonies Mr. Lucas says very little, barely mentioning the facts that great part of Borneo was sold in 1881 by the Sultan of Brunei to the British North Borneo Company; and that under pressure of foreign competition and in deference to the wishes of the Australians, we proclaimed in 1884 a British protectorate over the South-East of New Guinea and the adjacent islands." Of the United States he remarks, "The net outcome of the War of Independence has been that the British race has not lost America, and has gained other parts of the world." The concluding chapter, on the changes this century has seen in our colonies, is valuable, especially for the way in which the effect of the anti-slavery movement is traced in our African policy. It is seldom that so small a volume (140 pp.) contains so much food for thought.

A Brief History of Methodism, and of Methodist Missions in South Africa. By the Rev. W. CLIFFORD HOLDEN.
London: T. Woolmer. 1887.

The first part of this work, containing a sketch of the rise and growth of Methodism in England, is evidently designed for the climate of South Africa, and is well adapted for its purpose. The second part, describing the rise and progress of Methodist Missions in South Africa, more nearly concerns us. The author is describing work which he has seen and helped for nearly fifty years to do. It is an eloquent story—eloquent, not in words, for the narrative is plain, almost

to baldness—but in moral significance. We should pity the man for whom such a record of Christian toil, struggle and triumph had not a fascination second only to the Book of the Acts. Many parts of the story are sad enough; the writer himself evidently feels the pathos of opportunities lost and evil successful. Still, however the result has been marred by mistakes and want of faith, enough remains to encourage and gladden every lover of his kind. The first part of the narrative was written some years ago, and it has been necessary to add other chapters, describing the same districts of country. This arrangement, while it does not help the unity of the book, brings out all the more vividly the progress that has been made in the interval. The progress is sufficiently indicated by the most recent statistics of 24,000 full Church-members, 19,000 Sunday scholars, 15,000 day scholars, 102,000 attendants on worship, and the establishment of the South African Conference.

It is impossible for us to give details of the information and interesting episodes, of which the work is full—the references to the early pioneers, Barnabas and William Shaw, Hodgson, Edwards, Davis, Ayliff, and others; the accounts of the Christian chief, Kama, the epitaph on whose grave runs: "A noble man, a just governor, and a faithful Christian," and of Nathaniel Matebule; the exposition of the land question, the temperance question, the education question; missionary influence in preventing war, as in the case of Mr. Hargreaves, whom the natives christened Uzwinye, *The Man of One Word*, because he stuck to his text, "Don't fight with the Government." These and many other important matters must be read in the volume itself. The author complains with justice of the action of the Colonial Government in lessening the amount of their aid to education, a most short-sighted policy. Mr. Holden fears that the policy will bear disastrous fruit hereafter. "Do these natives not yield hundreds of thousands of pounds annually to the revenue of the country, and ought they not to receive at least a good part in return, in schools and general improvement?" But the question on which the writer feels most strongly is the ruin wrought among the native races by the facilities given for intemperance. Again and again the subject comes up in his narrative. It is easy to see the difficulty in which the Colonial Government is placed on the question. The drink trade is the source of great wealth to powerful individuals and classes on the spot, and helps the financial prosperity of the colony. These classes have the ear of governors and ministers, and their influence needs to be counteracted by strong pressure brought to bear on the Home Government. We wish we could quote all Mr. Holden's burning words on the subject (p. 581), and he is no extreme partisan. He pleads only in the interest of the native races, which are being destroyed by the curse of intemperance. The forms which the evil assumes, he says, are legion. No help towards reform is to be expected from Colonial Parliaments, where the Dutch brandy manufacturers are strong, from merchants and canteen-keepers. The hope of Africa and of African Missions is in the spread of education and in Christian native agency, and we are glad to find evidence of great progress in these matters. The 170 missionaries include 67 natives, many of whom are

said to be of the "stamp of the Early Methodist preachers." The account given of the intemperance and general depravity of the thousands of natives employed at the diamond fields is very sad, and sadder still is the news that lack of means prevents much being done for them.

We earnestly hope that the volume will receive the attention not only of friends of missions but of friends of the native races. It will furnish facts of which philanthropic public men may make good use. The modest author forgets himself in his subject. There is nothing of the *quorum pars magna fui* spirit in his book. We quite think with him that "the records contained in this book will acquire increased value and importance as time rolls on." We wish a map of South Africa had been given.

Historical Account of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters

By EDWARD BASIL JUPP, Clerk of the Company. Second Edition, with a Supplement. By WILLIAM WILLMER POCOCK, F.R.I.B.A., a Past Master. London: Pickering & Chatto. 1887.

For curious details of ancient guild life—its jealousies and quarrels, its rivalries, its rights and claims, its ceremonies and punctilios, its feasts, its charges—and, in general, its expenditure and its achievements—set down in the quaintest anarchic spelling—ever varying and monstrous in its licences—we commend our readers to this digest of authentic annals. The old English artisan, in all his technicalities and his public relations, is here exhibited. The Supplement, by Mr. Pocock, occupies rather more than one-half of this portly volume. The work seems to us, who cannot pretend to be experts, to be very thoroughly done. Not only carpenters, builders, and architects, to whom the six hundred pages cannot but be full of interest, but students of old English history, and especially of the antiquities of "London City," will find this book a quarry of curious historical lore. Its value is enhanced by a very good index.

The Life of Samuel Morley. By EDWIN HODDER. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1887.

Mr. Morley, apart from his moral qualities, was an excellent man of business, of more than average ability, who succeeded to a fine commercial position and had all the faculties and qualities—and all the training—to fit him for maintaining and increasing the great position he had inherited. He was also naturally an affectionate and friendly man. But, besides all this, he was a pre-eminently Christian man. His integrity rose to the strain of nobleness; his goodness—without any real narrowness—rose to the height of saintliness. Thus he became, in his day and generation, a great man; his noble Christian qualities, combined with his good faculties and sanctifying his use of extra-

ordinary wealth, made him great. He was not always wise in his particular judgments; sometimes, outside of business, he was somewhat utopian in his suggestions and his special proposals, but he was always wise in his moral aims and in his master principles.

Mr. Hodder has done his work well as well as promptly. It is seldom that any man has the honour of writing two such biographies as those of the "Good Earl," and Mr. Morley. Perhaps this volume is a happier performance than the biography of the Earl. Doubtless the work was easier and lay more within compass.

No one can read the biography without having his estimate of Mr. Morley's character elevated. A private view deepens our impression of the excellences which shone in his character as discovered by the public eye. Mr. Morley was a Nonconformist of the best school, so we presume to think. If his Nonconformist "wisdom" was, as it ought to have been, "first pure," it was next "peaceable"; it was "gentle and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisy." To maintain this character in the midst of violently sectarian and political narrowness and animosities urging him to the contrary, involved high moral courage on his part. But the convert of James Parsons, the disciple of Thomas Binney, the intimate friend, from his youth up, of Joshua C. Harrison, maintained his integrity in this respect.

This volume is one to broaden the sympathies of the Christian reader—of any reader of true and sincere character; it contains pleasant glimpses of the best Nonconformist life, from the time of the Claytons downward; it expands towards the end, so as to include notices of scenes and of Christian activities beyond the limits of Nonconformity, and of interesting and eminent men of public position far outside of the limits, either commercial or denominational, within which Mr. Morley's earlier years sped their prosperous course. Mr. Morley's was a happy and admirable life. It is pleasant as well as instructive to read its record, of which the value is enhanced by an excellent index.

The Autobiography of Maria Vernon Graham Havergal. With Journals and Letters. Edited by her Sister, J. MIRIAM CRANE. London: J. Nisbet & Co. 1887.

The Christian world does not grow weary of the Havergals. The volumes of prose and verse which we already possess form a considerable library, but it is by no means completed yet. This autobiography enshrines the memory of Frances Ridley Havergal's sister and chief companion. Her memorials of the poetess of the family attained an unusually large circulation, so that her name has already become a household word. The Autobiography was prepared whilst she was slowly dying of stone cancer, but it is a book full of brightness and hope. Mrs. Clay has filled up the interstices of her sister's narrative by Journals and Letters, but as these are added at the end, instead of being placed

in their chronological order, they somewhat mar the artistic effect. Some delicious glimpses of home-life in the Havergal home are given here. The school life of Miss Havergal at Kensington is also brightly chronicled. Then follow other chapter son "Home Life after School," on "The Sisters' Home at the Mumbles," &c. We heartily commend this book to all who are interested in the Havergals. It is the narrative of a devoted life full of spirituality and abounding in illustrations of the blessedness of doing good. What Maria V. G. Havergal's literary tastes were in her eighteenth year may be seen from one passage:

"I was a great reader. I liked to have half-a-dozen books going, great volumes of Calvin, Flavel, Pearson on the Creed; Hooker's Ecclesiastical works in seven volumes; Newton on Prophecy, and all the Reformation Series; Bishop Jewell's folios; Jeremy Taylor and Gurnal's Christian Armour. The Homilies I knew well, and wish they were not out of sight now. Then there was Calmet's Bible Dictionary, and Scott and Henry. For higher [lighter?] reading, Belzoni's Travels, Robertson's America, Hume and Smollett's History of England, in close print. I never read novels, and so enjoyed sound wholesome food. I always thank my father for his express wish on that subject, and so when in after visits I saw them, not even a wish came to me. Once I did, as a trial, read one, to see if I could close the book and go with appetite to other studies. No, I felt the whirlpool of imagination stirred, but the dreamy and mawkishness and unreality disgusted me. Often in travelling, books and *Punch* have been offered me. Two words always settle that, 'give account'; so I would rather not read what I could not give account of."

We may think Miss Havergal's severity of judgment extreme, but what we have quoted contains without doubt a much-needed moral.

BELLES LETTRES.

Canute the Great: The Cup of Cold Water. By MICHAEL FIELD. London: G. Bell & Sons. 1887.

MR. Field's earlier volumes of verse gave promise of considerable poetic power. His latest volume will both sustain and increase his reputation. "The Cup of Cold Water" forms the least agreeable part of the book. It has many beautiful lines and choice thoughts, but it is both impossible and unpleasant. There is an air of unreality about it. We are continually asking questions which find no answers. We have here a king and queen who live without Court or retinue; a wife who is ready to give her husband up to a girl who is already married to another. The whole poem is flimsy and inconsistent.

"Canute the Great" is work of a much higher order. It is the story of the Norseman's conflict with Edmund Ironsides. Here again are many improbabilities. The young King Edmund is murdered by his own nephew, a mere child passionately attached to the king, but set on to this deed by his own father, who has terrified the boy into the ghastly crime. The little fellow's brain gives way when he has stabbed his uncle. We are compelled to make such criticisms, but though the reader may feel that the plot is weak, he will not fail to feel the charm of many scenes and the beauty of the whole poem. The ungoverned passion of the rude sea-robbers forms a striking contrast to the civilization of the English race. Canute's description of the love with which Queen Emma inspired him is a noble passage. The Viking is transformed by a woman.

"Above me bent

A sweet, soft-shouldered woman, with supreme,
Abashing eyes, and such maturity—
The perfect flower of years—such June of face.
So ceremonious, and yet so fearless,
In passionate grace, that I was struck with shame,
And knew not where I was, nor how to speak,
Confounded to the heart. She made me feel
That I was lawless and uncivilized—
Barbarian! In all my brave array
I shrank from her, as she had caught me stripped
For some brute pastime. Is this womanhood?
There's more to see each time one looks at her,
There's music in her; she has listened much,
Pored o'er the lustrous missals, learnt how soft
One speaks to God, with silky filaments
Woven weird pictures of the fate of men.
Her smile is not a new-born thing; 'tis old,
And mellow as the uncut, timeless jewel.
Her forehead's runic,—it is just *to-day*
On other faces, but this lady's brows
Are full of fond tradition and romance.
I'll be her scholar, she shall teach me all,
And changed—yea, as I love her, I am changed
In my ambition, in my appetites,
In my blood, and aspirations.

[*Turning to some parchments.*

"For her sake

I wrestle with these laws. My eyes are dim,
Worn out with gazing, and my brain is slow
To take the import. Sometimes on my vessel,
When my dull brain is drowsy with the salt,
I muse on this new wisdom, till its weight
Oppresses me with slumber, as it rises
In such great bulk before me."

We should like to add other quotations, but this passage well expresses the charm of Mr. Field's poetry. The scene in the orchard at Malmesbury, where Edmund and Elgiva meet under the apple blossoms, is one of the most beautiful in the play.

Streamlets of Song for the Young. By FRANCES RIDLEY HAVERGAL. Collected by her Sister, J. MIRIAM CRANE. London: J. Nisbet & Co. 1887.

Mrs. Crane once asked her gifted sister to make up a volume of her simplest poems for the use of children. The idea commended itself to the poetess, but the pressure of other work never allowed her to do what her sister desired. Mrs. Crane has therefore had the pleasure of carrying out her own idea. The selections cover a wide range of subjects, both grave and gay. Nature, home life, seasons of the Christian year, all have their share in this volume. The cantata entitled "The Mountain Maidens" is also included. Answers to Enigmas and Charades fill up one-fourth of the volume. There is no need to praise Miss Havergal's poems. The children will rejoice in this collection of sweet and simple verse.

Amenities of Social Life. By EDWARD BENNETT. London: Elliot Stock. 1887.

If imitation is the highest form of praise, the essayists of the last century have no lack of admirers at present. The volumes of modern chatty papers, daintily printed and got up, form a considerable library. Mr. Bennett's contribution takes a good place in the series. The topics are well chosen, and are discoursed on with much grace and lightness of touch. If the essays do not come up to their models, it is because the latter are inimitable. If we have any fault to find with all this class of literature, it is that graces of style, point and wit, and smartness, are put before truth of sentiment. Mr. Bennett is not faultless on this score. He thinks that oaths are not absolutely reprehensible. "None the less there are times in life, and we must not allow our religious feelings or social conventionalities to override this fact, when an oath is, and none other, the right word in the right place. . . . And I would rather swear with Uncle Toby than sing psalms with Tate and Brady." So also he thinks that "we must sometimes compromise with truth." One of his essays is a pleasant defence of "Domestic Quarrels," the gist of which is that there are worse things than quarrels. Still the essayist has much to say that is wise and witty on "The Art of Conversation," "Letters and Letter Writing," "Single Blessedness," "The Miseries of a Nervous Disposition," &c. It is a bold stroke in a new writer to write on "The Plague of Books," a plague under which reviewers suffer grievously. "Just," he says, "as the statesman, poet, and soldier have their memorable epochs, so the reader, the poor, pale burner of the midnight oil, has also his favourite date, memories which call up a smile on his fallow features. The burning of the Alexandrian Library, 47 B.C., is his favourite date. Four hundred thousand valuable books were consigned to the flames, and in this mouth-watering thought our victim feels that even his cloud is not without its silver lining." The essayist's

only regret seems to be that the conflagration remains the only one of its kind.

The Praise of Folly. By DESIDERIUS ERASMUS. Translated from the Latin, and containing Holbein's Illustrations. London: Hamilton, Adams & Co. 1887.

A cheap, yet substantial and even handsome reprint of a well-known book, good in type, paper and binding. The notion of the satire seems to have been suggested to the great humanist by the similarity of the Greek word for folly to his friend More's name. He thence takes occasion to make fun of all orders of society. No one escapes his lash. Not the least amusing point in the situation is that throughout Folly trumpets its own greatness, proving its own infinite superiority to knowledge and wisdom. "Between him that truly is happy and him that thinks himself so, there is no perceivable distinction; or, if any, the fool has the better of it. First, because his happiness costs him less," &c. For cleverness, and as a picture of contemporary life, the work will always have a certain value; whether its cynicism and some other features are desirable is doubtful. The translation reproduced is an old and vigorous one. The allegorical illustrations need an expositor.

Hithersea Mere. By Lady AUGUSTA NOEL. Three vols. London: Macmillan & Co. 1887.

These volumes contain one of the best stories we have read for a very long time. Never has the country of the "broads" been better pictured, or its inhabitants, with their most quaint and peculiar of English dialects, more perfectly presented. Such a country and such a society seem to be the natural habitat and back-ground for such a creation of rare originality and charm to spring from as the wild and wayward and passionate, but pure and sweet and loving Hilary Marston, who contributes a touch of tender tragedy to the story, and absorbs in herself the main interest of the third volume. The heroine, Rhona Somerville, is very interesting, but is hardly fully developed. The task of writing her father's memoirs—he was a large-souled clergyman, who in his youth had had sore battles with "honest doubt," but had conquered—a task which had proved far too much for her mother's strength and general faculty, proved also too severe a test for the daughter, and is still left unaccomplished when the story ends. Adrian Mowbray is a character finely sketched, and the authoress shows how a case of scepticism may be so presented as to offend neither by narrowness, nor yet by that mischievous latitudinarianism of which there is so much in certain modern novels, and which seems to regard unbelief as a necessary ingredient in the highest refinement, the purest self-denial, and the loftiest heroism. Mr. Adrian Mowbray finds the materials contained in the papers relating to Rhona's father serviceable to himself in his struggles towards the final truth, and meets with his mate in

the perplexed young Christian maiden overmatched with her filial effort at biography. All the characters are good, but especially the Norfolk people. The two brother squires—one blind—are admirable and very lovable; the blind brother is a beautiful and pathetic character. John Mowbray, the strong but rather narrow working clergyman of the East End, is a capital contrast—though also not without his resemblances—to his brother Adrian, the essayist, the politician, the sceptical thinker, the poet of unsatisfied thought and desire. The country-folk—whether gardener, cottager, farmer, or farmer's man—are racy of the soil. The local parsons and the active clergyman's wife are all excellent in their kind.

For God and Gold. By JULIAN CORBETT, Author of the "Fall of Asgard." London: Macmillan & Co. 1887.

This is a tale of the Elizabethan age: Puritans and Cavaliers, English adventurers, and Spanish foes, seafaring scenes in the Western Indies and on the Western ocean, fill its pages with life and colour. The Drakes are here, —all the family—the Puritan chaplain at Sheerness, his son Frank, and his younger brothers. There is plenty of fighting, and the strong and stalwart characters of the age are strongly rendered. A Spanish West Indian beauty—a very picturesque and passionate creature—lends a tropical warmth and vividness to some of the chapters. The two chief characters, however, are Englishmen—one a scholar of Puritan training, the other a soldier, and a Cavalier—intimate and devoted friends, but whose friendship is for a time deeply disturbed by a cause which we have not space to indicate, but with which, as might be expected, a fair woman is connected. This is a scholarly, highly wrought, well-written romance, thoroughly English in its tone. That tone is *not* the tone of John Inglesant, of which famous large book we are reminded in reading this much smaller volume by strong contrasts and slight resemblances.

CHRISTMAS BOOKS.

For interest and for exquisite artistic illustrations, Messrs. Blackie & Son take a very high place among the publishers of Christmas story-books. We have before us new editions of George Macdonald's famous fairy tales—*The Princess and the Goblin*, and *The Princess and Curdie*. We do not always admire Dr. Macdonald's novels. But his fairy tales seem to us to be perfect and every way delightful. The illustrations are charming and quite in the spirit of the fairy life depicted in the stories. Sarah Doudney's story, *Miss Willowburn's Offer* is beautifully written, and its tone is unaffectedly good and unobtrusively Christian. It is something to be sure, in these days, of finding religion without cant, goodness without goody-ness, and intelligence and modern life without a taint of impurity. To those who desire for their family circle such a combination we can recommend Sarah Doudney's volume. That famous and deservedly popular writer for boys, G. A. Henty publishes a new story in

a new line, a story of Jewish life in the times of Vespasian and Titus, including the siege and fall of Jerusalem. *For the Temple* will, we doubt not, be an enthralling story for both boys and girls. *Our Neighbours; or, the Old Fashion and the New*, is a book by Sarah Tytler, whose merits as a writer need no commendation from us. Its title justly indicates its scope. It is a book for girls, above all, and shows how the good and sensible old fashion of thinking and training may be well and wisely changed into the good and sensible new fashion, including in the new fashion, nurse-training, and nursing- and college education for girls. The book is full of good sense.

From the Tract Society we have the usual resplendent volumes of the *Sunday at Home* and the *Leisure Hour* for 1887. Of these the first of necessity is limited in its range of contents by the condition which is so faithfully kept, that it is to be a "Family Magazine for Sunday reading." More than any periodical we know it fully answers this description in both its parts; it is a family magazine—absolutely pure and good, and there is nothing in it which jars with Sunday thought or worship. In this volume are many excellent papers. Perhaps the series on Hymnology may be classed as the best of all. Among the most interesting is the instructive series of the "Natural History Notes on the Revised Version of the Bible." The *Leisure Hour* has a thoroughly established reputation as a useful and interesting Christian magazine of general reading. We must single out for special praise the "Story of the English Shires," in a series of papers by Professor Creighton. The illustrations of this series are superexcellent.

WESLEYAN CONFERENCE PUBLICATIONS.

1. *Roger Haigh, Chartermaster.* By MRS. R. A. WATSON.
2. *The Poor Boy of the Class.* By HELEN BRISTON.
3. *Rooksnest Abbey; and other Tales.* By JENNIE CHAPPELL.
4. *A Narrow Escape; and other Stories for Boys and Girls.* By WILLIAM J. FORSTER.
5. *Early Days.* Volume for 1887. London: T. Woolmer. 1887.

1. We are rather amused at Mrs. Watson's dedication of her book. It is consecrated to the memory of a high-minded and accomplished Christian lady, "who loved Nature and books and quiet fragrant life, yet bore with cheerful courage for thirty-nine years the burden of the Wesleyan itinerancy, trusting in her God." We fail to see what special burden it could lay upon such a lady, but we are sure that it would afford her many joys of Nature, books and "quiet fragrant life," which are not given to every Christian lady. The story itself is full of incident, and shows how Methodism has won some of its best triumphs by the grace of God given to men of but scant education. It is a well-told story.

2. *The Poor Boy of the Class* is a happy account of an orphan lad who is adopted by his cousin, a poor cobbler with six children. Ben's influence in that home is well described in this interesting little book. It is a story that cannot fail to do good.

3. *Rooknest Abbey* is the first of a group of homely tales which will be much enjoyed by our young people. They are told unaffectedly with evident desire to do good.

4. Mr. Forster has won himself a high place as a story-teller for the young. Here he is the champion of temperance. His brief stories have both point and interest. Bands of Hope would find this an acceptable prize. All children will be the better for these pleasing stories.

5. The *Early Days* volume is a gift-book which will brighten many a nursery. The pictures are specially good. "Don't let me fall," the coloured frontispiece is one of the prettiest prints we have seen for many a day. The stories, puzzles, and brief papers happily combine amusement and instruction.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Proceedings of the Royal Colonial Institute. Vol. XVIII. 1886-7.

London : Sampson Low & Co.

THE first paper in this always interesting report, Sir Graham Berry's, on "The Colonies in relation to the Empire," may be called a special Jubilee utterance. Sir Graham is sorry we did not carry out the policy of Lord John Russell, who, when he was asked how much of Australia England claimed, replied: "The whole of it." Had we treated the Western Pacific as an English lake, and kept out the French from New Caledonia, the Germans would never have gained a foothold in New Guinea (of the Dutch, whose ownership is far earlier than our own, he says nothing), and the squabbles about Raiata and the New Hebrides could never have taken place. The reason (he says) why the Australians are so anxious for federation is because they see in it a safeguard against future contingencies. This year five colonies were represented in the Federal Council at Hobart; next year South Australia has promised to join; and, before long, the two dissidents, New Zealand and New South Wales, will be pretty sure to come in. Of the confederates, Victoria is far the most go-ahead, expending yearly in defence a quarter of a million, which, calculated on the basis of population, is equal to nine millions for Great Britain and Ireland, and moreover being ready to contribute to a Federal fleet. Sir Graham did not forget that the Queen's Jubilee coincides with that of one Australian colony, and that Australia has already given proof of her willing-

ness to make great sacrifices for the privilege of remaining under the old flag, and "associating all the glories of a memorable history with humble work at the Antipodes." In the discussion following Sir Graham's paper, Mr. R. G. Haliburton, Q.C., took high ground, and asserted that the Colonies are independent of Parliament: "they don't appeal to the House of Lords but to Her Majesty. Cromwell ratified a treaty between the Parliamentary general in Barbados and Lord Willoughby, the Royalist commander, to the effect that the Barbadians were not to be taxed without their consent." It was Charles II. who "joined hands with the House of Commons in a raid on colonial rights; and Blackstone is wholly wrong in basing on immemorial and inherent rights the omnipotence of Parliament as respects the Colonies." Mr. Haliburton suggested an Imperial Cabinet (not necessarily with seats in the Commons), in which Colonial Ministers should be present whenever Colonial subjects came on. The fear about the New Hebrides is, said several of the speakers, lest they should be flooded with convicts, who will after a time be allowed to leave and make room for others, and who, in case of a war, would be a danger to Melbourne or Sydney. More interesting, even, than Sir Graham Berry's paper is that on "The Trade of India," by Dr. Watt, who had special charge of the Economic Court of the Indian section of last year's Exhibition. It includes a masterly sketch of the climate of India, its geology, its soils, roads, rivers, and the strange shiftings of its governmental and trade centres. As instances of the last, we may note that Clive in 1757 found Moorshedabad, now wholly unimportant, "as extensive, populous, and rich as London," while Fatehpour-Sikri, a Mogul capital, was built and deserted in less than half a century, its remains being one of the most remarkable ruins in India. As to trade, the all-important question is wheat. Dr. Watt is sure that it does not lessen the cultivation of millet (a poor-land crop) or of any other cereal; it may displace cotton, which can be grown cheaper elsewhere. He is sure, moreover, that the wheat trade is "a good and natural one." In the discussion, Pundit Narayan Dar insisted on the importance of Indian manufactures, which the English, from a Free Trade standpoint, are given to minimize, and pointed out the need to the native artisan of a measure of protection. Mr. A. Mackenzie, Indian Home Secretary, questioned the value of Burmah, either Upper or Lower: "they are vast areas of rich land, but the population is sparse, and the bill we have to pay for the former is heavy." Perhaps the most important point raised was that of education, on which Mr. Morris, of Kew Gardens, remarked that it will never do to raise a nation of clerks for whom little or no employment is found. He pleaded for industrial schools, quoting the words of one intelligent Cingalese: "You English by your schools do us little good; you take our children from the villages and rice fields, and as mere clerks they don't get enough wages to live on." Among several other valuable papers we must not overlook Mr. Chalmers on "New Guinea, Past and Present." Mr. Chalmers bears the strongest testimony to the value of missions: "Nowhere, except at mission stations, is there any appearance of civilization. I hold very strong views on what is called civilization. . . . I

have visited many island groups, and nowhere have I seen our boasted civilization civilizing, but everywhere have I seen Christianity acting as the true civilizer." Mr. Chalmers noted the strangely democratic character of the Papuans—the want of real chiefs with real authority being one of the difficulties in dealing with them. He also gave a curious legend of the time when Torres Straits was only a valley depression, and "New Guinea was a hood to our great Australian continent." He believes there is a very ancient and unfathomable past connected with the island, the tribes who now occupy it being of comparatively recent date. Papers on "Practical Colonization" (valuable in connection with plans of State Emigration), on "Colonial Government Securities," &c., make up a more than average volume.

Unfinished Worlds: A Study in Astronomy. By S. H. PARKES, F.R.A.S., F.L.S. With Illustrative Diagrams. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1887.

Mr. Parkes is gifted with "the scientific imagination" in the right sense. His eye for the fairy side of science is keen, and he can describe vividly what he sees clearly. The facts he relates about our starry neighbours take our breath away, as, for example, that there are stars four, forty, fifty, and two hundred times more brilliant than our sun; that one of the sun-spots was a chasm large enough to swallow up twenty of our earths, "which, if tumbled in, would only furnish a small morsel for the giant King," that the comet of 1681 was not more than 142,000 miles from the "great fiery furnace" of the sun, and that the light and heat then beating upon it must have been 25,600 times fiercer than the light and heat at our equator, that "the satellites of Mars, recently discovered, may really be two minor planets picked up by it, and permanently mastered by its attraction," and many other even greater marvels. He is daring enough to call Jupiter a "highwayman" for delaying a comet on its fiery course, and to speak of another comet, whose appearance was delayed beyond the fixed time, as having "become bewildered. It had plunged headlong into the sphere of Jupiter's attraction, and for a time was completely diverted from its former orbit." According to our author there are other planets which, like Mars, are on the look-out to pick up bewildered travellers in the nightly sky.

But the author's object is not simply to detail wonderful facts, which indeed only come out incidentally. He has a theory, namely, that the process of creation is still going on in other worlds, and the aim of his work is to indicate the phenomena which give probability to his theory. The phenomena of the nebulae, comets, and the several members of our own system, from Mercury to Neptune, are examined and described with this end in view. We can only repeat that the story is a very marvellous one, and is told very graphically. We never saw a better popular description of the sun in brief compass. It is described as "a great chemical laboratory, . . . a vast globe

of glowing gas 865,000 miles in diameter." We are glad to see justice done to the two Herschels, typical specimens of English scientists, and good use made of Dr. Dallinger's researches. The photo-mezzotype diagrams are very helpful. We hope to meet Mr. Parkes again in the same field.

Betel-Nut Island. Personal Experiences and Adventures in the Eastern Tropics. By JOHN T. BEIGHTON. London: The Religious Tract Society. 1887.

This is a volume which young and old will alike enjoy. It is full of incidents, both grave and gay. The stories with which the book abounds are racy and well told. The student of mission-work will find some valuable details as to the worship of Hindu, Mohammedan, and Chinaman in the chapter on Fasts and Festivals. The painful account of the flogging administered to a British soldier, as described in chapter vii., will show what horrors have been perpetrated in the Army, and may serve as a timely warning for those who talk about resuming the use of that instrument of torture—the cat. Mr. Beighton is the son of an honoured missionary, who spent many years among the Malays of Pulo Penang (for which Betel-Nut Island is the English equivalent). His happy boyhood in the garden of the East is described with more than youthful brightness. The account of Penang fruits will make many a mouth water. The plea for the snake and the Chinaman should teach some English readers a good lesson. We have greatly enjoyed this little volume, and urge all our friends to visit the Eastern Tropics by reading Mr. Beighton's *Reminiscences*. It would delight every young missionary collector if given as a prize.

Daily Life and Work in India. By W. J. WILKINS, of the London Missionary Society. London: T. F. Unwin. 1888.

The author of this book is already favourably known as a hard-working and intelligent missionary, who has written one of the best books on "Modern Hinduism." The present volume is, as its title indicates, a description of that *ordinary* life and work of the missionary in which Christians at home are always interested. The style makes it suitable for young people, and it is freely illustrated. Others, however, besides children, will be interested in Mr. Wilkins's bright, chatty, pleasant narrative.

People in Our Circuit: Reminiscences of Methodist Life. By L. M. SENIOR. London: Hamilton & Adams. 1887.

These sketches purport to be narratives of fact, with names and some details altered to prevent recognition. They date, the author (authoress?) tells us,

between 1830 and 1860. Some of them present a fair picture of Methodist Circuit life, others have the colouring of a caricature, and some have little or nothing to do with Methodism at all. If these stories were to be published they would have been much better for judicious editing. Whole pages of irrelevant details, together with others exhibiting somewhat questionable taste, should have been cut away. The remainder, presented in a somewhat chastened style, might have done good service in presenting some types of excellent and devoted character, together with pictures of various kinds of disturbers of church peace, such as are, alas! not to be found only in Methodism. Some of the sketches must be from actual life, and readers familiar with phases of Methodist Circuit experience will recognize types that they have often met with. The spirit and design of the book are in many respects excellent, and we could have commended it more heartily but for the faults above mentioned, which mar its execution.

A Dictionary of Music and Musicians. Edited by Sir G. GROVE.

Part XXII. Vol. IV. London: Macmillan & Co. 1887.

The section of this valuable Dictionary which is before us contains a number of articles, of which that on "Weber" is the chief. It is apparently the last of the series, and completes the work.

Euthanasia ; or, Medical Treatment in Aid of an Easy Death.

By W. MUNK, M.D., F.S.A. London: Longmans. 1887.

The author thinks that too little attention has been given to the medical treatment of the dying, that directly cure is hopeless Nature is left to itself, and that much might be done under medical direction to lessen the last sufferings. In the first chapter of his brief, carefully written essay he brings much testimony to prove that, save in exceptional cases, these sufferings are far less severe than is commonly supposed. The second chapter treats of the various "symptoms and modes of dying," while the third refers to the means to be used in different cases for the object he has in view. These means seem eminently practical and simple, and might be partially used with advantage by others than doctors and nurses. It is to be hoped that the recommendations will become widely known and followed.

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN PERIODICALS.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (November 15).—The Duc de Broglie's "Diplomatic Studies," which are appearing in successive numbers of this Review, have great historical and political interest. His paper in this issue is based on the "Campaign of Frederic in Saxony, and the capture of Dresden." M. Barthélemy Saint Hilaire contributes a suggestive article on "Philosophy and the Sciences." He says that two main dangers menace the sciences. The first is that of an analysis pushed to excess, the other a too assiduous search for practical applications. Both tend to divert science from her true aim. The immensity of details is a crushing burden; their number multiplies incessantly, and is already incalculable. Analysis kept within bounds is one of the most valuable canons of the Cartesian system, but too minute analysis does more harm than good. The writer shows that there is not the least reason for discord between the sciences and philosophy. "They both serve one and the same cause and contribute to a common result, the more and more exact and full interpretation of the works of God. Whence then come the divergences which injure both one and the other? They belong only to the prejudices from which the noblest spirits are not always free." The article closes with counsels of moderation.

(December 1).—M. Perrot discusses the Homeric question in an article marked both by acumen and good sense. Two years ago he tried to show what the archæologist may learn from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as to the primitive arts of Greece and its growing industry. Now MM. Croiset's first volume on the *History of Greek Literature*, which has recently been published, gives him an opportunity to discuss the authorship of the poems. These gentlemen have enjoyed special advantages for such studies, and as professors—one at Paris, the other at Montpellier—have shown their competency for the work. M. Perrot describes the incidents which led him to study the Homeric question for one of his lectures on Greek literature at the Normal School. Some weeks of leisure on the coast of Normandy helped him to master the *Iliad*, but the *Odyssey* had to be left for another vacation. One section of the article deals with the language of the *Iliad*. His idea is that the mixture of two dialects and the multiplicity of equivalent forms can easily be explained if we give due prominence to the personal action and free will of the author of the *Iliad*. It is a literary language in the same sense as that of the odes of Pindar, the choruses of Attic tragedy, and the prose of Herodotus. Formed of elements drawn from very different sources, it has, from the first to the last line of the poem, a unity of plan and method which could only be obtained by deliberately following out a clear design. The delicacy of the poet's art is seen in the sobriety of his descriptions, which are at once picturesque and concise. These M. Perrot follows with some detail. The conclusion which he reaches may be gathered from the closing paragraph. "We do not hide from ourselves what there is of unaccustomed and strange; we believe, however, that we have shown that the multiplied and floating Homer of Wolf and his successors is far more improbable than the Homer of tradition, or at least the Homer whose likeness we have caught and whose rôle we have described. The *Iliad* as we know it, remains, it is true, a thing unique in its kind, a sort of miracle of the poetic genius of Greece; but, after all, it is less inexplicable than an *Iliad* to which I do not know how many poets have set their hands, and yet which is, so to say, made all of one piece, or an *Iliad* by the commissioners of Pisiistratus, which Sainte-Beuve described as an *Iliad* by a Society of Men of Letters. These theories, which clear up nothing and only render the darkness more intense, are specious only on their negative side." M. Perrot holds that La Bruyère's dictum should guide all investigation of this subject. "One has scarcely ever seen a great masterpiece which was the work of several hands."

LA NOUVELLE REVUE (October 15).—M. Thiebault-Sisson writes on the manufactory at Sèvres. Considerable excitement has been caused by the recent removal of the veteran administrator there—M. Lauth. But his place is now happily filled

by M. Deck, who has taken an active part in the perfecting of the ceramic art for more than ten years. The moment of his installation seems favourable for a review of the history of the famous manufacture from 1756 to the present time. French porcelain is of two kinds—soft or artificial, and hard or real. The first is distinctly inferior to the second. The material is not sufficiently plastic, is exceedingly apt to get out of shape, and altogether less fitted to exhibit the potter's skill. The distinction between the two kinds is given with some careful details. The soft porcelain was first produced. It was made at Rouen, then at St. Cloud, afterwards at Vincennes and Sèvres. From these manufactories, but especially from that of Vincennes, founded in 1740, came the incomparable works of art for which collectors still seek. Louis XV. had just decided to take one-third of the responsibility of the establishment, which now received the name of the Royal Manufactory of French Porcelain, and the works had been removed to Sèvres, when the discovery of kaolin, near Limoges, introduced the hard porcelain. This discovery revolutionized the art. Every day the soft porcelain gave way before the superior qualities of the hard. A splendid service of date 1775, still preserved in the valuable museum at Sèvres, is the last word of the old dispensation. Napoleon I. set a savant at the head of the establishment. "The era of artists was at an end, that of functionaries was to begin." Like the poets, historians, musicians, and painters of that age, porcelain also began to proclaim the exploits and the glory of the monarch, to make known his benefits, and to perpetuate his memory. The industry of the artists knew no bounds. Ancient Egypt, Greece, the Orient, and Rome all supplied types and suggested adornments. The famous round table of "The Marshals" is the only treasure which has come down to us from those times. On its smooth surface are represented the marshals of the Empire, painted by Isabey in colours, in white medallions, surrounded by the inevitable "decoration" in gold. It was stolen at the Restoration from one of the national palaces and sold to an English collector. Under Louis Philippe Sèvres flourished greatly, as the wonderful collection at Fontainebleau, with its maritime views and châteaux of France, its exotic plants and flowers, still shows. During the Second Empire the work was helped by a grant from the Civil List, and the manufacture was pushed to excess. The collection suffered terribly during the Franco-German War, when it was put into the cellars of the Louvre. The remnant of its treasures still suffices to make the museum at Sèvres by far the finest collection of its kind in the kingdom. It is hoped that the gaps may yet be filled by the gifts of generous amateurs. What cannot be replaced are the actual models furnished by French sculptors, and the portfolios devoted to the history of French art of the eighteenth century. The work of manufacturing is now divided into three parts—fabrication, decoration, and chemical preparation. A director is set over each department; there is also a conservator in charge of the museum and library. The museum is unique. At Delft there is a more complete collection of the ware for which that town is famous, at Dresden there is a marvellous show of figures, vases, &c., manufactured in Saxony, but nowhere can be found a collection so vast, or a classification so exact, of all the works of ancient and modern ceramic art. Greece and Rome, Japan and China, the Italian Renaissance, the French Renaissance, and even the rude work of savage nations, are all represented at Sèvres. The collection had the good fortune to pass from the hands of Rivecourt, who knew porcelain better than any other man of his time, to the care of M. Champfleury, who was not less distinguished for his knowledge of earthenware. Each piece is accompanied by a mark giving its date, material, origin, and the name of the donor. The writer says that he has passed many delightful hours in the museum of models, which in itself is a history of Sèvres, its benefactors, its artists, and the varying fashions of the art. The whole arrangement of the manufactory is carefully described. There are ninety-eight workmen with their apprentices, then come the artisans and the artists. The nineteen artisans are employed to gild, decorate, and repair the models. The artists design patterns or copy those already designed. This article will be prized by all connoisseurs of porcelain and by those who are engaged in the art.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (October).—Professor Dr. Theobald Fischer writes on "Tunis as a French Colony." Tunis, the successor of Carthage, is the most important city of Africa after Cairo and Alexandria. It is almost more representative of the colony than Paris is of France. All other cities labour under serious disadvantages. Whoever is master of the capital is master of the country. The

French occupation has clearly shown this. It is not so in Algiers. The power which holds that city, or even all the coast towns, is far from being the master of Algeria. Tunis might be made the most important city of the Mediterranean after Constantinople. The question of a harbour is the only difficulty. Carthage had to make its own port. To provide such a harbour would entail enormous outlay, and its maintenance would involve serious expense. The French have, it is said, resolved to commence important works at Biserta, which may become a second Toulon, to the no little peril of Malta and Italy. What the French possession of Tunis means for Italy is shown by the history of twenty-five centuries. The relations between Tunis and Italy, and especially Tunis and Sicily, are such as to make one country powerfully influence the other. "Men and people change, but geographical conditions remain. We see that Carthaginians, Vandals, Arabs, Barbarians, when they reached the summit of their power, always grasped at Sicily and Sardinia, and Greeks, Romans, Byzantines, Normans and the maritime republics of Italy turned towards Tunis." The moral seems to be that, sooner or later, France and Italy must struggle together for Sicily and Sardinia. Having sketched the situation of Tunis the article proceeds to consider what the future of the colony will be under French administration. The work which the French have accomplished during their five years' occupation in Tunis and their fifty-six years in Algeria is reviewed. In the latter colony there are already not a few cities with broad streets which strongly remind a visitor of Marseilles; the old Moorish towns are mostly found only on steep mountain heights. In Algiers itself great blocks of houses have been built facing the sea. The trade of the province has risen from 95 million francs in 1850, to 562 millions in 1882. Other interesting particulars are added. The population is 3,752,000; 3,285,000 of these are natives, 425,000 Europeans. There are 43,000 Jews with rights as French citizens. Of the Europeans, 220,000 are French, 120,000 Spaniards, the rest Italians. The Tunisian province is next described in detail. There are two ways of dealing with the country. Either its own resources may be developed for the good of its own population, or it may be treated as a home for French emigrants. In the first case it would be treated as a plantation or trading colony, like Java; in the second it would become a settlement for farmers, &c., like the United States or Australia. The French seem to have chosen the latter course. Circumstances have greatly favoured their occupation. Quiet and security are established throughout the province. The development of the resources of the country through French gold and management is already noticeable. Five years' experience have made the writer very hopeful as to the future of the colony.

(November).—Herr Rodenberg continues his sketches from Berlin life with a paper entitled "Unter den Linden." Like every Berliner, the editor of the *Deutsche Rundschau* is proud of the great centre for the fashion and rank of the Imperial capital, but he confesses that he is not at home there. The reminiscences which every foot of earth, every tree, every house-front awake, are too overpowering. It is the fæstal hall of Berlin. Here, one morning in the spring of the year 1680, the good Electress Dorothea planted the first lime-tree on the soil of her city, which is still spoken of as the Dorotheenstadt. The first house had been built in 1674. Herr Rodenberg describes the rapid growth of the quarter. The lime was and still is the favourite tree in that sandy soil. Nature has not been generous to the region, but the lime-trees form one pleasant feature. The avenue only took its present form by successive plantings under various princes. When it was finished Berlin received what it had not enjoyed before, a promenade and promenaders. There was neither room nor necessity for such an avenue in the old city, with its walls, its trenches, and its narrow streets. People did little walking then for mere pleasure. Pedestrianism was a hard task, not a recreation. Dorothea's lime-trees stood outside the gate. The article contains some pleasant reminiscences of festivities which have been celebrated Unter den Linden.

NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (November 1).—Signor Fornioni writes upon "The Comedy of the Twentieth Century." Some hold that the drama is dying out because the power of illusion and of imagination have grown feeble in the public mind, and because the desire for realism in scenic representation is gaining strength. Others consider that the stage is being quickly debased by parodies and farces; whilst a third set of critics maintain that the drama is a discrepant form of art which has no true function in modern

civilization. It will not be displeasing to some English readers to know that Signor Fornioni admits that comedy—under which name he includes every variety of the modern drama—is on its last legs in Europe. After glancing at the history of dramatic art in Greece and Italy he turns to Spain, where in the sixteenth century the drama flourished under a splendid cluster of authors: Moreto, Cervantes, Gabriel Tellez, Lope Vega, and Calderon. The *autos* were the real source of this phase of the Spanish drama. It thus became the last magnificent expression of the mysteries of religion—the winding up of mediæval art. Then Shakespeare arose, “the millenarian hero of modern thought.” It was Shakespeare that gave the true, the grand drama to the modern world; Shakespeare, that with the soul of all humanity, the whole life of an epoch, gathered up in his own immense genius the past, the present, and the future. He substituted for the doctrine of divine fatality, the policy and history of conscience. It was as if an immense watch-tower had sprung up in the world from which could be seen the life of thought and of the human conscience. Molière did for comedy in France something similar to what Shakespeare did for the drama in our country. With Shakespeare and Molière the drama and the comedy reached their third culminating point. Greece perfected the ancient drama; then Italy perfected the middle age of art. England and France did the same for the modern world. The history of the dramatic art is thus concentrated in these three luminous epochs. “As Æschylus and Aristophanes remain the holy fathers of ancient art, Shakespeare and Molière became the holy fathers of modern art.” Signor Fornioni holds that the art of the future, in order to have a *modus vivendi*, must contain something new, something different from the decadent art of this century. Absolute sincerity in the typical representation of life is the first condition which the new comedy must fulfil. It must be free from preconceived notions, able to convince and move by its own power, but not assuming to persuade or prove, because that is not its proper function. It must also be “free.” Here lies the peril. The writer wishes to steer a middle course, he says there is corruption, but not liberty; but the subject only needs to be mentioned to show what grave perils are ahead. Signor Fornioni complains that the hypocrisy of the theatre condemns the dramatic art to a condition of inferiority as compared with all other arts. His third canon is simplicity, without which there is neither force, greatness or durability. Complication is one of the most grave symptoms of the present decadence. There must be a sincere representation of life, powerful through its liberty and its simplicity. This is the writer’s ideal. Differing as we do from him on the question of the drama, we are interested to note his protests against the present and his hopes for the future.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW (November).—An article on “Possible Presidents,” describes the public life of Senator John Sherman, and strongly argues for his election to the chief office. On the 28th of July the Ohio Republican Convention, consisting of 723 delegates, who represented all parts of the State, unanimously resolved that they “have just pride in the record and career of John Sherman, as a statesman of fidelity, large experience, and great ability,” and respectfully present him to the people of the United States as a candidate for the Presidency. The honour is claimed for Sherman because “his career as a statesman began with the birth of the Republican party; his genius and patriotism are stamped in the records of the party and the statutes and constitution of the country,” and because “his nomination would be wise and judicious.” Ohio has never failed, says the writer of this article, to secure the nomination and election of any of her citizens upon whom she heartily and cordially united, “as she did upon Harrison, Hayes, and Garfield, and now does on Sherman.” The candidate’s claims are ably enforced in this article. Sherman has long experience, an intimate knowledge of all the interests of the country, a thorough acquaintance with the people and resources of every State, and with the workings of the Governmental machinery. His integrity is unassailed and unassailable. The article urges his claim for many reasons. He can secure the votes of labouring men; can carry more votes of coloured citizens than any other candidate; will command the united support of the Republicans and of many conservative democrats in the Southern States. Besides this, Mr. Sherman’s services in currency, revenue and public debt measures have won him the entire confidence of business men. He also commands the support of those interested in the protection and increase of the

American commercial marine, and of the soldiers. His long public career is also in his favour. He was first elected to Congress in 1854; he is Secretary of the Treasury, and has served as President of the Senate. Other reasons are added. The writer is evidently a strong Republican, who wishes to win the presidency for his own party, and feels that Sherman is the strongest candidate.

PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW (October).—Professor Simon, of the Congregational Theological Hall, Edinburgh, who spent six years in Berlin, and translated Dörner's *Christology*, contributes an exceedingly interesting account of the eminent theologian's life with a critique of his writings. Dörner was a native of Schwaben, the typical German province, whose people combine in a marked degree "caution in action, sobriety of judgment, sympathy with mysticism, and boldness of thought." Dörner's father was the pastor of Neuhausen-ob-Eck, a village near Tuttlingen. It is perched on the Swabian Alps high enough to "afford views even of the distant Swiss mountains." The church and manse are primitively simple; the latter looking exactly like one of the high-roofed, timber-framed farmhouses, common in the district. Isaac August, as the future theologian was called, was the sixth of twelve children. He was born on June 20th, 1809. After some preliminary grounding by the private tutor, who lived in the family, he was sent to school in the town of Tuttlingen. In his fourteenth year he went to Maulbronn, one of the four lower theological seminaries through which youths intended for the church must pass ere they enter the University. When he was eighteen he entered the Evangelical Stift at Tübingen. After five years careful training he became for two years his father's curate. Then he returned to Tübingen as one of the *Repetents*. His work was to direct and assist the students under his charge by means of lectures, discussions, examinations, conversations; to watch in a friendly way over their conduct, and promote their moral and religious well-being. Strauss, the author of the notorious *Leben Jesu*, was one of his colleagues. The book appeared while they were together at Tübingen. Strauss was respected for his acuteness, learning and literary skill, but was not much liked. Dörner seemed to win all hearts. He wielded "a greater intellectual and moral influence than he himself understood." In 1839 he became Professor at Kiel. We have not space to follow his somewhat wandering life, but in 1862 he succeeded to Schleiermacher's Chair in the University of Berlin. Here he spent twenty years of uninterrupted activity. He became one of the most influential members of the Supreme Ecclesiastical Council, took an active part in allaying the prejudice in the city against Sunday Schools, and did his best to stem the tide of Sabbath desecration in Prussia. "He was a born teacher." Professor Heinrici of Marburg's reminiscences of his days in Dörner's lecture-room afford some pleasant glimpses of his well-earned popularity with his students. His humility and affability were marked features of his character. However busy he might be, Dr. Simon was never made to feel himself an intruder. A student bears similar testimony. His affection for his relatives and for his native village remained unabated amid all his honours. On one of his last visits to Neuhausen he catechized the village children in the afternoon with a simplicity and zest that showed his true greatness.

THE CENTURY (October, November, December).—Some idea of the enormous circulation of this magazine may be gathered from the fact that a quarter of a million copies of the November number have been struck off. This is the first edition. Sometimes another edition is called for. The War Series, which is now concluded as a series, will be followed by short papers from time to time upon special and picturesque phases of the war. The Life of Lincoln is still running on through the numbers. The new set of papers on Siberia opens with an article entitled "The last Appeal of the Russian Liberals." Mr. Kennan, the writer of this article, has within the last two years made the acquaintance of more than five hundred members of this Russian protesting party, including not less than three hundred Nihilists living in exile in the convict mines and penal settlements of Siberia. He says that it is a mistake to suppose that the Nihilists are a homogeneous party, who prefer violence to any other mode of redressing wrongs, and aim simply at the destruction of existing organizations. "The one common bond which unites them is the feeling which they all have that the existing state of affairs has become unsupportable and must be changed." There is in fact no school to which the term Nihilistic can properly be applied. "There is no party in the Empire which deliberately chooses violence and bloodshed

as the best possible means of attaining its ends ; there is no party which aims merely at the overthrow of existing institutions, and there is no party which preaches or practises a philosophy of negation and destruction." Mr. Kennan enters a vigorous protest against the indiscriminate grouping of the whole protesting class under this ugly name. He devotes the rest of his paper to a description of the peaceable, law-abiding branch of the protesting party—the Russian Liberals. Between 1861–1866 the Government undertook a series of searching reforms which, if carried out, would have benefited all classes of society. Unhappily, however, the authorities took fright at the consequences of their own measures, and began to stultify their measures by every device in their power. Hence sprang protest and at last revolutionary activity. Mr. Kennan describes the generous crusade known as "going to the people," which led thousands of educated young men and women to pour into the villages and suburbs of great cities, where they devoted themselves to the peasants, and tried to "help and elevate the men and women whom their fathers had bought, sold, and flogged." The Liberals, seeing whither things were tending, made every effort to induce the Government to change its course of repression and to inaugurate reforms, but in vain. The Christmas number is especially rich in readable articles. Mr. Wilson's paper on the Sea of Galilee gives some most interesting descriptions of the shores that were consecrated to the Gospel. Its illustrations, taken from photographs, add no little to the value of the article. Mr. Brander Matthews' "Notes on Parisian Newspapers" give the most distinct account of French journalism that we have seen. The article shows how deeply the mercenary spirit pervades the most popular French dailies. Even the money article is sold to the highest bidder. The *Temps* is a notable exception to the rule. It is conducted on the same principles as our best English newspapers. The sketches of leading journalists are not the least interesting part of the article. The papers on Durham Cathedral, Lincoln's Inauguration, and the somewhat severe strictures on the acting of Irving's Faust, add greatly to the value of one of the brightest numbers of *The Century* that we have seen. The account of Durham Cathedral and the stirring days when its bishop was the military chief of the North will be interesting to all lovers of our early history. The architecture of the Cathedral and its Galilee Chapel are ably and clearly described. Fiction has a liberal share in the contents. "After the War" is a charming story.

It is with very deep sorrow that we record the sudden death, on November 16, of SIR WILLIAM M'ARTHUR, K.C.M.G., who was during many years an unfailing friend of this Journal, and for several years past had acted as treasurer for the proprietors. A prince among citizens and merchants, recognized as a public benefactor, especially during his term of office as Lord Mayor, SIR WILLIAM was also known as a friend and promoter in Parliament and elsewhere of Colonial interests and of Imperial Unity, as an eminent philanthropist, as a zealous and devoted Wesleyan Methodist, equally in England and in Ireland, and as a Christian of the warmest and widest Catholicity of feeling. He leaves a great blank, not only in public life, but in the hearts of his friends.

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